Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-153 9 August 1994

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Interparliamentary Union To Hear Nano Case

AU0908072494 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 31 Jul p 1

["e.l"-signed report: "Tranquility Restored: Nano Affair Remains To Be Solved by Politics"]

[Text] Tirana—Tranquility is back again with regard to the Fatos Nano affair. Now everything is up to the politicians. After the Supreme Court's verdict and last Friday's [29 July] mass rally organized by the PS [Socialist Party], attended by its members and sympathizers, the anxious fear of street incidents now seems to be over. Self-control and common sense have finally triumphed. The PS leader, Fatos Nano, whose party had promised his release by all means from prison, will have to wait for the meeting in Copenhagen, where the Committee of the Interparliamentary Union has also promised to come up with a definitive resolution. The only new "title" for Nano, until September, will perhaps be his transfer from Tirana prison, a hypothesis which was categorically denied by the PS itself and the official authorities last Friday afternoon.

Government Sues Former Persecutees Association

AU0708144194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Excerpts] The spokesman for the Tirana District Court reports that the Albanian Government filed a suit against the Former Political Persecutees Association today. The government is demanding that the the strike by the association be declared illegal and, as such, suspended. The government is also requesting that the consequences derived from this strike be resolved.

After a preliminary examination of the suit, Judge Artan Zeneli, deputy chairman of the Tirana Court, decided to carry out the preliminary preparations at 1200 [1000 GMT] tomorrow, 6 August 1994, between representatives of the Albanian Government and the Former Political Persecutees Association in order to consider concrete, legal possibilities to resolve this case as stipulated in the Civil Procedure Code. [passage omitted]

To ensure objectivity while referring to Articles 128 and 129 of the Civil Procedure Code, which defines the general procedural rules of inquiry into civil cases of the first degree, the court has decided to suspend the hunger strike until the court case is completed. [passage omitted]

Shehi Calls Strike Futile

AU0508165894 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1200 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Interview with Albanian Labor, Social Assistance, and Former Persecutees Minister Dashamir Shehi by Zamira Koleci in Tirana on 5 August—live or recorded]

[Text] [Koleci] What do you think about the former persecutees' persistence in continuing the strike?

[Shehi] As a government, we think that their persistence is futile, useless, destructive, and motivated by reasons other than economic ones. We think that the proposal the government is offering the persecutees, in line with the laws on persecutees, meets almost all their demands fully—or at least those demands that are reasonable and normal. In this regard, the government reiterates its commitment to meet the demands fully. We expressed this late last night in discussions between the persecuteees association and a working group set up by the government. As an official and a former persecutee myself, I think that the strike, in those few districts where it is going on, has other motives.

There is a clan at the top of the association presidency that claims to manipulate the public in Albania and beyond. They are playing someone else's game and do not defend Albania's interests, even less those of the persecutees. We think that this is a network set up on the basis of several destructive principles, just like the destructive rally held by the socialists and another one later by the former persecutees. Of course, tomorrow we will have one on minority problems, and the day after tomorrow one with trade union extremists.

Based on democratic legislation and by exerting its democratic power, the Albanian Government is able to face the entire situation [words indistinct].

Personally, as a minister who has been involved in the persecutees' problems for a year, I would like to add something. In the right-wing newspapers, the newspaper of the former persecutees, as well as BALLI I KOMBIT, I have recently read several insinuations against me and the Labor Ministry. I would like to confirm here that I have a clear conscience in that I am one of those who have contributed more to this category of people—not because I consider myself to be one of them, but because I had the good, if difficult, fortune to be the first to deal with the matter. Thus, I feel purer, morally, than many of those who are currently leading the association presidency and who think that I cared only for myself and not for the political persecutees.

Second, the Labor Ministry has not spent one penny belonging to the former persecutees. The luxury cars that they accuse us of having were bought with World Bank money and are official cars. The Ministry has been renovated with state money and no houses have been built for Ministry employees.

The 2.2 million ECU for the political persecutees was procured by the new democratic government, and then approved by Prime minister Meksi, Mr. Konda, and I through the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program. It is not at all something that the Former Persecutees Association has achieved. [words indistinct] the Albanian Government planned to build about 220 apartments with the 2.2 million ECU. Because of intervention by the Association, only 100 are being built, but we will keep investigating this question to the end.

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The Albanian state pledges once again to defend the interests of this category of people, as they are one of the reasons for the triumph of democracy in Albania.

Council Spokesman's Announcement

AU0508133094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 4 Aug 94

[Announcement by Council of Ministers spokesman; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] As the Albanian public has been informed, the National Association of Former Political Persecutees has sent a ten- point petition to the Council of Ministers, stating that if the government fails to meet its demands within 15 days, they will be obliged to declare a nationwide hunger strike. The problems that they demand be solved are an integral part of the program of the Democratic Party [PD] and the democratic government aimed at lessening the difficulties of these people who suffered under the communist dictatorship for half a century.

To resolve these temporary problems, a former persecutees' committee has been set up, the Law on Innocence and the status of a persecutee have been approved, and more than 100,000 documents have been collected, examined, and classified according to the law, on whose basis compensation will be granted.

This committee representing the government, and the government itself, have been in constant contact with the association and certain individuals in order to assist their rehabilitation into the country's life as soon as possible. It is more than evident that the difficulties of this transition period have prevented the timely solution of these problems. However, it is worth mentioning that the government has employed tens of thousands of persecutees at all levels, from the presidency to local administration. Suffice it to mention that over 4,500 persecutees work in the Public Order Ministry alone, i.e. about 35 percent of the staff. [passage omitted]

Nevertheless, the government is aware that their needs are still great. The government has lately determined how and in what proportions they will be compensated in accordance with the law and has prepared decisions to change the way enterprises are privatized. [passage omitted]

Representatives from the government and PD deputies have met and held several talks with the association presidency to inform it about government steps that will be taken within the current limits of the state budget. Regrettably, we have to announce that the two sides have not agreed on an acceptable solution.

Regarding the meeting with the prime minister and what was discussed there, we are sorry to observe that [former Political Persecutees Association chairman] Mr. Kurt Kola is not telling the truth and that he deliberately misinformed the association presidency.

The prime minister informed the strike representatives about the government measures to accelerate privatization by auction sale alone, clearly stating that by the end of 1994, property and businesses will be privatized only through securities. [passage omitted]

Mr. Kurt Kola's demands for compensation and even more money by the end of March 1996 are impossible because they would require 15- 30 billion leks, equal to three annual defense, health, education, and culture budgets. [passage omitted]

The progress of the privatization process and the funds that will accrue to the state budget do not depend on the government alone; they are unforeseen and we cannot promise to meet any deadlines. This is evident to many of the association and strike leaders, yet they are declaring to their supporters that they will begin a strike because the government is unable to meet their demands.

The government's stance in the dialogue with Mr. Kola and other members of the strike commission has been very open and sincere as to what the government's present and future actions will be and what the country's possibilities are today and in the near future, stressing that the government can in no way give unfulfillable promises that are not commensurate with the country's potential, nor can it accept obligations that would hinder the country's economic and social development for decades to come.

The government thanks the persecutees for their understanding and confidence in the PD program and asks them to dissociate themselves from the clan of adventurers whose fundamental aim is to destabilize the country. [passage omitted]

We are conscious that not all the demands and needs of the former persecutees have been met, but the government and the PD, through their programs, are working to fulfill them step by step in line with the country's current and future possibilities and without punishing the majority that has suffered under the dictatorship. [passage omitted]

The government will accomplish what it has recently declared, but it cannot promise the impossible and cheat the persecutees into the bargain. The government cannot accept unlawful demands. We are determined to defend the victories of democracy that have been achieved over the past two years in Albania.

We tell the Albanian people that there will be no bloody fight for power, no triumph by the legality movement or fascism in Albania, no triumph of right-wing, fascist extremists, former intelligence officers who were imprisoned and whose families and relatives persecuted, or those who were sent into the diaspora [sentence as heard]. The government will bring them to justice as soon as possible.

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Government Opposes Subsidizing Newspapers

AU0908072594 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 4 Aug 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Government's Response to the Strike Declared by Left-Wing Newspapers: The Press Must Be Independent From the Government—Declaration of the Government's Spokesman"]

[Text] In response to the demands of the left-wing newspapers, the government's spokesman emphasized that they are entirely unacceptable, and are based on fraud and the old socialist hypocrisy of a tax-free society. The government does not and will not have newspapers. It advocates a free press, independent from the government. It has therefore never subsidized the press and will not do so in the future either. The problem of reading and buying newspapers by the readers is not the government's concern, but a matter of professionalism on the part of newspapers themselves. What the government is standing fast on is the suggestion of the president of the Republic to reduce the customs tariffs on all imports, without exception, by printing firms in order to ease and stimulate the activities of these enterprises in Albania. Book publishing and the press in general will benefit from this. The strike is a democratic society's phenomenon which ZERI I POPULLIT and its sister newspapers can make free use of.

Tirana, 3 August 1994.

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Power Official Views Energy Prices, Costs

AU0908070194 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 5 Aug 94 p 12

[Interview with Evgeni Angelov, deputy chairman of the Committee for Power Supply, by Krasimir Tsigularov; place and date not given: "Our Country Will Lose Its Independence If It Goes Beyond the Lower Limit for Its Own Energy Resources"]

[Text] [Tsigularov] Mr. Angelov, during the last two or three years, in mid-summer the energy industry has usually come under pressure. Why is this so?

[Angelov] The energy industry came under fire when people started talking about prices, price setting, and the grave financial situation, and when these problems are offered for public discussion. We have decided as a matter of principle that our actions should be as transparent and open as possible, and we believe that in this way the public will simply accept us better.

At the moment, we are working on two very important matters of principle. The first is a procedure for updating the prices of electricity, thermal power, and coal. The second is the mechanism for compensating socially disadvantaged sectors of the population, so that people with low incomes can obtain compensation. This compensation will be differentiated, so that some will receive 100-percent compensation, while others will get partial compensation. The Council of Ministers has to consider these draft documents. The problems with prices are painful, and the trade unions are trying to win some dividends for themselves.

[Tsigularov] However, the present attack relates more to the condition of the coal-mining industry.

[Angelov] In my opinion, the affair that has raised such a furor has nothing to do with this, especially because a very strong attack is being mounted against Kozloduy, which is no accident. It is no secret that the cost of producing a unit of electric power at our nuclear plant is substantially lower than in neighboring countries. I assume that certain interested parties, including some of our own institutions and companies, want to hamper our energy industry as much as possible, so as to make it necessary to import electricity and coal for our power plants.

[Tsigularov] What more can you say about the procedure you have prepared?

[Angelov] The last price rise was made at the start of April. At that time, the exchange rate was 35 leva to the dollar, and this price increase also took account of certain economic conditions, especially the rate of inflation. All the main parameters have now changed dramatically. We import 71 percent of our basic energy resources, and we have to buy them with hard currency. This means we are beginning to find it very difficult to finance our energy production.

However, there is a further very important factor. At the moment, the energy industry subsidizes almost the whole of the economy. According to the latest figures, the energy industry is owed about 4.2 billion leva, while Bulgargaz is owed about 11 billion leva. We simply cannot operate, because we have no funds.

We are trying to find mechanisms for collecting the outstanding debts, and in all cases we are having partial success by transferring the amounts outstanding to Bulgargaz to the Credit Bank and the Discount House. The latter will deal with collecting the money from the various commercial companies, and they will provide Bulgargaz with funds for constructing gas pipelines, as well as a certain amount of fresh money.

[Tsigularov] Are not suspicions appearing that the transfer of debts in practice means that the debtor companies are being privatized?

[Angelov] These are bad debts that we find very difficult to collect. The Council of Ministers issued Decree No. 77 specially for Bulgargaz, which declares that all the debts owed to the latter belong to the state. This means that Bulgargaz can apply to the tax authorities to block the bank accounts of the debtor companies. However, this is an extreme measure, and it should not be applied. For this reason, we are seeking a way to avoid similar measures, such as selling the debts of individual companies, for example. I do not regard this as a privatization, all the more because in the case of the Kremikovtsi Metallurgical Plant the amount involved is equivalent to only 8 percent of its output. If it formed a large proportion of its output, one might have had doubts. Some time ago, we arranged a similar operation with Turistsportbank, involving the Stomana [Steel] Company in Pernik. In this case, the amount seized was 500-600 million leva, unless I am mistaken.

[Tsigularov] What is the price you need to balance your books, given the present rate of inflation and dollar exchange rate?

[Angelov] I do not want to say anything in advance, but at the moment our company is losing 11 stotinki on every kilowatt-hour of electricity produced. This is the average loss for the first six months of this year, and we have produced 15 billion kilowatt-hours. This is not an advance announcement of any definite increase in prices. We first have to analyze production costs and reduce our expenditures to the minimum. Only then will we think about increasing prices, in conformance with a certain principle.

[Tsigularov] Surely, the system of social protection is a double-edged knife, since it can also be exploited speculatively?

[Angelov] This is a very difficult question. However, what I find important is that at the moment about 350 million leva has been set aside for this purpose. However, according to the calculations what we have made

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jointly with the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, about 530 million leva is needed to provide compensation for the population.

[Tsigularov] How much of our coal is used for power generation?

[Angelov] Some 33 percent of the country's electric power is produced from locally produced coal, representing 85 percent of our coal production. The remaining 15 percent of our home-produced coal is used for household needs.

There has been a lot of speculation about the state of the coal- mining industry, in which people's feelings have been exploited. Certain persons are deliberately creating tension and utilizing it for their own purposes. Look here, during the last three years, we have succeeded in stabilizing coal production, and are even planning an increase. What other sector in our industry can boast of such an achievement? The average monthly pay of our miners is 6,930 leva, and not a month has gone by without us paying them. However, we cannot produce coal on air, we need money, and at the moment only our excellent relations with the Finance Ministry are saving the situation.

We have reached the lower limit for reducing our domestic energy resources. We are importing gas, nuclear fuel, and petroleum. If we go below this limit, it will affect our independence as a state, and this must not be permitted.

[Tsigularov] However, the game going on at the moment clearly concerns the prices of domestic and imported coal.

[Angelov] The game with [Podkrepa leader] Konstantin Trenchev is quite different, we should have no delusions about this. Let us start with the fact that last December his national strike collapsed with a great crash and roar. His offers and proposals started to appear after that. He mistreated me the most regarding the proposed import of 200,000 tonnes of coal from Venezuela. He himself begged to be made an offer for importing the coal. The price is $50 a tonne, which makes a total of $10 million. This amount is equivalent to four months wages for our miners. It means that we would have to close down the Bobovdol mines, which take eight months to produce the same amount, and this when we have a decision in force banning the import of all types of coal.

However, the offers and pressure continue. They relate to trucks, coal, fuels, spare parts.... He thought he could use us as his puppets. No, this will not work.

[Tsigularov] Is a question also arising regarding nuclear fuel?

[Angelov] I do not want to talk about this question, because the second file of documents that I have covers this affair. The situation is tough, the pressure is immense, and it again originates through him. However, for this reason the matter will be raised soon.

Commander Says Missile Units Still Combat Ready

AU0808173594 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Aug 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Major General Iliya Iliev, commander of the Antiaircraft Artillery and the Surface-to-Air Missile Troops, by Colonel Konstantin Lichev; place and date not given: "Everyone Is Bound To Offer His Sacrifice at the Altar of the Fatherland"]

[Excerpts] [Lichev] General Iliev, can we rely on the country's air defense in these difficult days for Bulgaria?

[Iliev] The same is true for the missile troops as for everyone else in the Air Force. It is no longer any secret that we are in a bad way. Nevertheless, in these days of deprivations the Surface-to-Air Missile Troops are reliably defending and protecting our aerial borders. The difficulties and shortages show up most clearly and perceptibly in our troops, because we maintain constant combat alert. I think it would be improper and incorrect for me to reveal any quantitative or qualitative details, but experience in recent years demonstrates that we are successfully dealing with incidents that crop up. There are enough examples of this, and our public is well aware of them.

[Lichev] Is it only money and equipment that you lack, as regards implementing the reform in the Surface-to-Air Missile Troops?

[Iliev] Money and equipment are only one side of the coin. The other, more important aspect relates to people and the troops' intellectual potential. An indication of their professionalism is the fact that so far, despite the difficulties, not a single piece of equipment has been stood down from combat alert. Our main problem concerns engineering, technical, and command personnel, and it chiefly arises from the delay in passing the new defense and armed forces bill. This leads to a loss of motivation to serve and develop a career, and people start working from day to day. In addition, low pay and shortage of housing are bringing the families of officers, especially in the junior ranks, to the verge of poverty.

[Lichev] What is the situation with the missile equipment? Do we have everything we need to defend our aerial borders?

[Iliev] The equipment and weapons of the Surface-to-Air Missile Troops are combat ready. I repeat, these days this is a difficult task to fulfill, and the fact that we are ready for combat is the best attestation of the quality of our personnel. I cannot claim that we have everything that we need to protect our aerial borders, but we know how to use what we do have. [passage omitted]

[Lichev] How are you managing with the maintenance and overhaul of the weapons that you have at present?

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[Iliev] Necessity has taught us many things, but the "do it yourself" principle will soon prove insufficient. Recently I read in the newspapers that "a nation that cannot feed its own army will feed a foreign one." In my view, this could not be said better.

[Lichev] Is it true that Russia continues to behave like a monopolist toward us in relation to supplies of essential spare parts?

[Iliev] To some extent, this is true. I assume that the difficulties that our countries are experiencing will make us reestablish contacts on a completely new basis. Nevertheless, we are finding it difficult to surmount the errors in our relations that occured because people gave vent to high feelings. It must be made clear that it is impossible to maintain combat readiness without spares, and these mainly come from the former USSR. The fact that we may be able to produce them in Bulgaria is a different question, but we can discuss this some other time. Maintaining constant combat alert requires money, and rearmament requires a lot of money.

[Lichev] How does our surface-to-air missile equipment look when compared with that of our southern neighbors and our West European partners in NATO?

[Iliev] Conclusions drawn from comparisons of arms and equipment can lead to serious mistakes. Every country solves its defense problems in its own way. Our southern neighbors are giving priority to developing their aviation. Aircraft are able to fulfill a wide range of defensive and offensive assignments. It is difficult to talk about the West Europeans. In my view, at this stage no country reveals the secrets of its air defense. There is an unspoken taboo on this. Nevertheless, what we have is worthy of respect. [passage omitted]

[Lichev] What savings did the Defense Ministry budget and the Bulgarian taxpayer gain from converting the Missile Troops' old missiles for use as target drones?

[Iliev] Savings is perhaps not the most precise word for it. At current prices, to convert a surface-to-air missile installation into a system for launching target drones, and to convert a combat missile for use as a target, using foreign know-how, costs millions of dollars. The cost of our project is thousands of times less. This makes sense, because troop training will cost the taxpayer less. This is not empty talk, because it was recently announced that the United States is buying 2,000 surface-to-air missiles from Russia for use as high-speed aerial targets. [passage omitted]

[Lichev] Are our testing grounds at Shabla likely to be used for firing exercises by foreign countries whose weapons are similar to ours, and will the Surface-to-Air Missile Troops gain any real benefit from this?

[Iliev] There is no other alternative in the foreseeable future. We have to develop a comprehensive program that will also attract the interest of the local population. An example of this is the NATO firing range in Greece. In my view, the testing grounds have a future and they can bring in millions of dollars for the state, the local population, and the army. [passage omitted]

Border Troops Chief Notes Better Cooperation

AU0808173694 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Aug 94 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Colonel Georgi Teterekov, commander of Border Troops National Service, by Major Nikolay Tsvetkov; place and date not given: "Soldiers With Green Shoulder Boards Guard the State's Backyard"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Tsvetkov] Is it because our borders are so vulnerable that the flow of people trying to cross them constantly increases?

[Teterekov] The problems relate not so much to our borders' vulnerability as to our country's geographical position. Bulgaria lies in a region that many people regard as a springboard for entering the countries of Central and Western Europe. The imperfections of our legislation also serve as an encouragement. We have visa-free travel agreements with a number of countries. Foreigners arrive here quite legally and then, following a period of adaptation, make their next move.

[Tsvetkov] Can one say that border violation incidents are increasingly acquiring an organized character?

[Teterekov] Yes, and unfortunately the trend is increasing. The organization of illegal routes for taking people across the border and smuggling activities, which were unheard of previously, are now characteristic of the overall border situation. Dozens, even hundreds of routes have been set up to smuggle people and goods, moreover, in all directions. Not only our compatriots, but also people from neighboring countries operate as links in these chains. The routes do not stop at the border itself, but continue deep into neighboring territories. We are not observing these developments with equanimity. When I speak of hundreds of routes, I have in mind the ones that we have detected and closed down.

[Tsvetkov] Approximately how many offenders do you arrest each year, and what penalties are imposed on them?

[Teterekov] As far as we are concerned, the figures are not of substantial importance. I can say that on average 25 to 30 persons try to cross the border illegally in each 24-hour period. It has been established that 2500-3000 persons try to cross in a year. It is more important for us what happens to the lawbreakers later. So far several dozen cases have been instituted, but not a single person has been convicted and sent to jail. This failure to punish offenders makes us think that the situation on the border will not change in the near future. It even encourages the audacity of the offenders. There have been a number of cases in which offenders resisted arrest, sometimes even using firearms. Increasingly frequently, our border

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guards have to resort to using their weapons, and this trend cannot fail to worry us.

[Tsvetkov] How do the neighboring states handle this problem?

[Teterekov] Here, the situation has perceptibly improved. Not only our neighbors, but also the countries of Eastern Europe have reacted in a timely way and introduced strict regulations for entry and transit of their territories. The paradox is that Bulgarians are detained in Greek prisons awaiting sentences for border violations, whereas our prisons contain not a single Bulgarian or foreigner charged with such offenses, despite the fact that the Penal Code provides severe penalties, namely prison sentences of up to five years and fines up to 50,000 leva. We can also find positive examples in our northern neighbor. There, the penalties include money fines, part of which is given to the officers who prevented the crime, to provide an incentive.

[Tsvetkov] What is cooperation like with the authorities on the other side of the border?

[Teterekov] During the last two or three years the situation has improved so much that we have nothing more to desire. People and goods are handed over promptly, irrespective of which side of the border they are detained on. Our cooperation with the neighboring border authorities is based on goodwill, and in this respect we have surpassed many other political and administrative structures. [passage omitted]

[Tsvetkov] What is your opinion about the demands that have been made for the last four years to disband the Border Troops?

[Teterekov] The idea of a Europe without borders is very fine, and I welcome it. However, experience shows that any country that respects itself must have a structure responsible for its state borders. Time will show how the Border Troops will evolve. We already have a concept ready for submission to the Interior Ministry. We will put into practice whatever proves to be most effective and beneficial.

Racial Conflicts Involve Gypsy Population

AU0808124194 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 5 Aug 94 p 16

[Konstantin Subchev commentary: "According to the Law of the Prairie"]

[Text] We have once more heard rumors that Sofia's gypsies are planning to smash the heads of the "skinheads" should they come near the "Razsadnik" or "Fakultet" districts, which the gypsies consider to be their domain.

Racism in Bulgaria is banned by the Constitution and subject to prosecution under the law. Nevertheless, the provocative behavior of some of our "dark-skinned" compatriots and the passivity of the authorities occasionally cause those who have suffered from such actions to put their hopes in the skinheads as their only protectors.

On the other hand, totally innocent Romany people are beaten up by savage "defenders of the pure race." This is not only illegal, it also creates dangerous precedents.

In such cases, why do we pay the police forces—who trust the skinheads to do their job in gypsy areas, where the number of stored firearms competes with those in Sarajevo.

The law applies to everyone, at least on paper. However, since noone is willing to implement it, our citizens may have recourse to private methods of guaranteeing their own safety.

Nevertheless, what is to become of a society in which everyone grabs a gun and assumes the role of policeman, public prosecutor, judge, and hangman at the same time?

It can only be compared to conditions in America, but not to those of the contemporary United States. I am talking of the old days, when the law of the prairie was respected.

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President Havel Criticizes Geneva Peace Talks

AU0808192494 Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 6 Aug 94 p 13

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Igor Blazevic of the Helsinki Citizen's Assembly; place and date not given: "We Know the Consequences"]

[Text] [Blazevic] You have repeatedly called on the international community to show a clear attitude toward Bosnia. This was politically risky. Why was this so important to you?

[Havel] For three reasons. First, I am firmly convinced that, in the current world full of mutual dependence, it is possible to strengthen the feeling of common responsibility. We are indeed responsible for all the world and not only when there are violent conflicts but also regarding environmental issues and many other things. In politics, the sense for global responsibility is not very marked. This is the philosophical-political background.

Another, more specific reason is the fact that the Czech Republic has so far shown only little talent for concrete democracy, even though the values and foundations of our Republic are democratic. This was seen most clearly in Munich. At that time, after the Munich Agreement (1938), (British Prime Minister) Chamberlain said that he did not understand why an Englishman should risk his life for a far-away country of which he knows nothing. We know the consequences. The hope of sacrificing one's own values in the name of peace to protect human lives proved to be a terrible illusion. The hesitancy of the international community to intervene in Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] and in the entire sphere of the former Yugoslavia could once again have self-destructive consequences, particularly for Europe.

After all, Europe's unification is based on coexistence—of nations, cultures, and religions. If democratic values are attacked and destroyed in the name of neonationalism and "ethnic cleansing," this endangers all of the values on which Europe and its unification is based. This is a question of solidarity not only with those who suffer but also with ourselves. We must not endanger the foundations of our own lives by hesitancy.

Finally, it may simply have something to do with myself: I am annoyed by any indifference toward violence and injustice. However, when I comment on it now and then, I do not feel very comfortable because I do not have to prove any courage when I broach the topic, and I certainly do not have to risk my life. It is not I who makes the decisions but the international community—the North Atlantic Alliance, the European Union, the United Nations. And it is always a bit strange when someone who does not have to bear the consequences gives advice to others. However, if a comprehensive international action were the issue, in which various states were asked to participate, we could imagine the participation of Czech units in one form or another. Nevertheless, it is easier for someone who is not directly involved to give advice than for someone who must bear the consequences of this decision.

Despite these reservations, I have stressed again and again at many international meetings that Bosnia is more than just a regional quarrel. Rather, there is the question about the elementary values on which not only European unification is based but the coexistence of peoples all over the world. One of the greatest dangers to a growing world population is precisely that conflict between nations or communities that is nurtured exclusively from a mutual feeling of being different.

[Blazevic] You have criticized the Geneva negotiations. In a joint statement with Slovene President Milan Kucan, you stated that the international community must newly define its political goals for Bosnia. Is this still necessary and, above all, possible?

[Havel] I found the Geneva negotiations depressing. I was particularly shocked when I got the impression that somewhere some wild guys are conquering some areas and drawing up the maps, which they then present to the Geneva conference. The conference accepts them, makes a few corrections, and looks for lines of ethnic division that would satisfy all three parties to the war. For me, this is a typical example of how one renounces the defense of the values on which our own existence is based. I got the impression that Karadzic more or less provided the material for the negotiations in Geneva. And I was not only skeptical; I also felt this to be hypocrisy. Because they did not want to admit that the negotiations had stalled, they continued on the basis of the logical assumption that, after all, it is important to get the parties to the conflict to sit down at the negotiating table—a very plausible claim.

In reality, something that is most deeply alien to the negotiating instigations was accepted at the negotiations. One cannot change borders by force and divide states and then expect that they will remain internationally recognized. Nor can one recognize already existing borders and, at the same time, throw oneself into negotiations with crazy armies about how one state could be divided into several states.

It seems that the situation has changed a bit since then. The idea of a Muslim-Croat Federation, linked to Croatia in a confederation, seems to be acceptable to many of its citizens. If it were possible, which I doubt very much, to include the Bosnian Serbs in the Federation, if this entity were recognized and could reconstruct itself along federal principles, this could be a solution. We ourselves have experienced something similar: We were two nations and both felt independent of each other and also expressed this in the form of our state. We tried to create a just federation, and, as everybody knows, we did not manage to do so. Thus, in the end, we decided to separate peacefully. I am not so naive that I cannot understand that nations have a strong need for their own state. What worries me about Bosnia-Herzegovina is that the different communities are linked to each other very

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closely; the network of coexistence was very dense. A separation along ethnic lines would be endless: A line could be drawn through each house, each family, each village. One can make proposals on that, which may be completely absurd.

A few years ago, it looked as if we were moving toward a better Europe as a result of the end of communism and the Cold War. Today, no one talks about the end of history, of the new world order, or of European integration. Instead, one is talking about separation, and the new borders are on European soil. West Europe increasingly adopts the appearance of a fortress that is completely indifferent to all the others, who must build their states anew. Thus, if one thinks that the European democracies are failing, one must ask: Why is this so? What dangers are we still facing? What can one do so that Europe will not soon look worse than it does now?

During the first months after the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1990, there was much enthusiasm. We thought that Europe could move toward a new order more quickly than it did in reality—but the path toward that is far more painful and complicated than we thought at the beginning. Nevertheless, we can search and build this new order with determination, creativity, and courage. Traditional policy, which is guided only by pragmatism and caution, is not enough for that, however. We must go beyond the usual things. There are a few beautiful examples of how traditional policy can exceed itself.

Just think of the time after World War II: An entire generation of courageous politicians, such as de Gaulle, Adenauer, Churchill, and others, who had lived through World War II and then saw Stalin's ambitions in Europe, successfully reconstructed at least West Europe in a new and better way. A century of German-French confrontation was thus ended, and the process of integration began. Today, politicians are called upon to show the same courage and the same generosity. If we are too cautious, too reserved, and too hesitant, the new order might be built by others, by the nationalists and the chauvinists.

[Blazevic] The people in Bosnia-Herzegovina who originally wanted democracy and a multiethnic state feel defeated by nationalism and fascism and betrayed by the Western democracies.

[Havel] I can certainly understand this feeling because, of course, there are not just the three parties to the conflict, but also a very large, fourth party that does not want a war and that does not consider the conflict between the various ethnic groups as unavoidable. I am completely on its side. However, if we say that somebody betrayed us, we must honestly analyze our own position. The leaders of the parties to the conflict were all elected in one way or another: [Bosnian Serb leader Radovan] Karadzic was elected as the representative of a specific side in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This society must look at its own mistakes and its own failure very closely and cannot simply shift responsibility to others.

[Blazevic] When you talk about Bosnia, do you feel a conflict between Havel the intellectual and Havel the politician?

[Havel] I must admit that this problem is obviously greater for journalists than for myself. Fate has given me the role of having to express my opinion now in such a way that it is compatible with my function as president. I have to choose different words, perhaps I must be more diplomatic and careful, but I still have to remain myself and say what I think. I accept this as a new challenge, as a job that must be done and that I have to cope with in one way or another. This is nothing new. All through my life, fate has given me rather strange tasks. Perhaps it was the fact that they were so strange and unusual that made me do something in the first place.

Armed Forces Agreement Signed With Canada

LD0808143394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Excerpt] A news conference was held at the [Czech] Defense Ministry today in connection with the signing of a memorandum on cooperation between the Czech Republic and Canada in the sphere of armed forces. Here with the details is Jana Zukalova:

[Zukalova] Canadian Defense Minister David Collenette, who is on a five-day visit to the Czech Republic, signed a memorandum of understanding with his counterpart, Czech Defense Minister Antonin Baudys. This document sets out a framework for cooperation between the defense ministries of the Czech Republic and Canada and the specific character of cooperation between the armed forces of the two countries. It makes possible the expansion of existing contacts and paves the way for practical cooperation in such spheres as the exchange of personnel, technical and professional assistance, and professional training.

The Canadian defense minister stressed that the memorandum is in keeping with what both his own country and the Czech Republic consider to be important—namely, the aim of maintaining peace and instituting stability and collective security. [passage omitted]

Daily: Discrepancies in Army Inventory Figures

AU0808201394 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 2 Aug 94 p 1

[Article by Petr Bakovsky: "The Army Apparently Does Not Know How Many Tanks It Has"]

[Text] So far, the Defense Ministry has not at all explained the inconsistencies in the inventory of conventional arms that exist in Army documents. At the same time, the differences registered on 1 January 1993 in the number of weapons earmarked for liquidation according to the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe were as large as several dozen pieces.

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The document "365 Days of the Transformation of the Army," for instance, lists 95 tanks and 65 armored personnel carriers fewer on 1 January 1993 than last year's Army annual. On the other hand, the document registers eight more artillery systems and three fighter jets. The Defense Ministry Press Service No. 5/94 confuses numbers with percentages; therefore, it is impossible to figure out any actual data. The only instance of data given in numbers are the tanks, and it gives 109 tanks fewer than the annual. So far, the Defense Ministry Press Department admitted that the number of weapons could have been given inaccurately or commented inaccurately.

According to the data from the International Security Military Policy Department of the Defense Ministry, the inaccuracy in the military technology inventory could have resulted from the inclusion in the original numbers of surplus arms and other weapons for which export contracts were signed but which have not actually been exported.

On the other hand, General Staff employees believe that the disparate data could have resulted from the application of different methods in reporting surplus equipment. None of the international inspections conducted on our territory has ever found any lapses in the fulfillment of the Treaty on Conventional Forces.

Minister Dlouhy Views Economy, Restructuring

AU0808201194 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Jul 94 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Vladimir Dlouhy, Czech minister of industry and trade, by Vitezslav Kulich; place and date not given: "Scandals Are Also Spreading Into the Seats Occupied by Members of other Political Parties"]

[Text] [Kulich] According to public opinion polls, you have been the most popular Czech politician in a long time. What is the reason for this, in your opinion?

[Dlouhy] I have always attributed this to the fact that I try to do my job as best I can. However, sometimes it is impossible to do the best job, but this will certainly be a subject of your next questions because it is quite obvious what you are hinting at from your first question. But, to narrow your room for maneuver, I have the feeling that my popularity is also due to the fact that, when something cannot be done, I speak openly about the reasons it cannot be done or admit that I made a mistake.

[Kulich] You head two problematic sectors: industry, where the decline in production seemed frightening and positive signs have appeared only recently, and trade, where the proexport policy is still only budding.

[Dlouhy] Sir, your knowledge is not up-to-date. Are you aware of the fact that the data on industrial production published by the Statistical Office show that the real growth in industrial production attained 4.6 percent in May of this year?

[Kulich] I said that moderate signs of better development have appeared.

[Dlouhy] Good. Regarding the fact that I am heading the sector, which is going through a decline, I have to say that we have inherited an overindustrialized economy, with a large share of industry in the generation of the gross national product. It was obvious that this share would have to be reduced. At the same time, it is evident, despite the fact that it was difficult to admit it at the time, that our policy was not a priori oriented toward macroeconomic growth but, rather, toward macroeconomic stabilization. The economy had to undergo a certain decline in economic activity, and it did. Now, evidently, there is certain recovery in growth, first at the level of the gross domestic product and in industrial production at the present. However, instead of looking at the aggregate figures—these figures were and still are correct, in my opinion—we should rather look at the structure: What is the share of products that require a high level of processing, how is restructuring progressing on the microeconomic level, and how can the genuine owners implement restructuring? I consider this adjustment on the microeconomic level to be our greatest problem in the future.

[Kulich] How do you evaluate the current situation in foreign trade? I am interested in your opinion on proexport policy, for example.

[Dlouhy] It is not true that support for exports has begun only now. Exporters made the greatest profit on the exchange rate, as it was fixed. It has taken decades for proexport systems to become established in advanced countries. We are building such a system step by step. The establishment of Ceska Exportni Banka [Czech Export Bank], which will ensure access to the long-term financing of exports, was a step in the right direction. In addition to this, we are preparing auxiliary measures, such as access to the market, foreign trading missions, and so on.

[Kulich] Then our proexport policy is all right, in your opinion?

[Dlouhy] I am not saying that it is optimal. However, we have to ask how much this country can afford, how much its banking system can afford. Exports to West European markets have been increasing constantly, even this year. In this case, no financing of exports is involved here, but it is purely the success of Czech enterprises. I see a problem with exports to the former CEMA countries and the former USSR, where we lost our position on the market. For example, our exporters to Russia are facing competition from advanced countries, where exports enjoy strong state support even in the case of commodities that are usually not delivered on long-term credit. The developing countries are another sphere. As traditional exporters of investment units, we need a long-term financing of exports, but our banking system has no access to it for the time being. Everything is not all right here, and the situation must therefore improve.

[Kulich] You are the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] deputy chairman. ODA is renowned for its help in vast

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restitutions of the aristocracy's property. Moreover, your party has held the seats where the greatest affairs and scandals can be expected.

[Dlouhy] Our attitude toward restitutions is linked in general to the ODA overall attitude in general. I reject the interpretation that Mr. Bratinka has supported, in a significant manner, the restitution of the property of aristocratic families. As far as I know, ODA's stance has been misused only in one case.

[Kulich] In which one?

[Dlouhy] You should ask Mr. Bratinka. I only want to say that the centers of scandals, as you call them, are also spreading to the seats held by members of other political parties. I, personally, was affected by the problem of poor coordination when protecting information at the Interior Ministry, a post that is not held by an ODA member. (RUDE PRAVO Note: Information provided by the Interior Ministry shows that Minister Dlouhy is a silent partner in Chemapol and that he pursued his own interests when pushing for the so-called Czech Way of privatization of refineries and the petrochemical industry. After hesitation, the Interior Ministry denied this information.).

[Kulich] You do not speak about politics publicly very much. Are you rather a cabinet politician?

[Dlouhy] I have to concentrate on the work of the ministry. I cannot express my opinion on certain things because I do not know them well enough. I have not formulated my own standpoint on them. This is why I do not express my opinion. But, I agree with you in that, if I want to remain a visible ODA politician, I cannot proceed like that for the entire election period. In the future, I will have to be able to state my opinion on more general issues.

[Kulich] You are also our only politician working with the support of an advertising agency. Are you imitating the style known in the advanced countries, the United States, for example?

[Dlouhy] I work with the advertising agency for free. From time to time, this agency also works for other members of the government and political parties. Presentation in public requires a small professional team. I consider this quite normal.

[Kulich] You are known because you often start publicity matters in a well-prepared manner, but there is a snag somewhere when the objective is to be reached. For instance, your concept for the "Czech Way" was returned to the drawing board and in negotiations with Skoda Volkswagen you have reached, after months, basically the same result as at the very beginning....

[Dlouhy] This is not completely true. By the way, the "Czech Way" was not my concept. Starting publicity matters and then completing them after a compromise—this does not happen only in our country. It happens everywhere in the world. For example, relations between the government and Volkswagen are, thanks to the work during the past nine months, on a completely different level qualitatively. In 1992, both sides succumbed to a certain euphoria about the market. This corresponds to a certain level of knowledge. However, if Volkswagen invested according to its previous intentions, Skoda would today be exactly where the Spanish Seat is. This is not what we want. We want to ensure for Skoda the development of its own automobile, as large a number as possible of Czech suppliers, efficiency, and profits. This requires a compromise between the volume of necessary investments and the extent of production. Rather than explain the situation with the figures, we have to explain to the public that the deadline for achieving the expected number of manufactured automobiles according to the new model will be shifted by two to three years. I am convinced that Skoda will be able to accomplish it. It will take longer, however.

[Kulich] Are you satisfied with the existing negotiations with Volkswagen then?

[Dlouhy] I cannot say I am completely satisfied, but today's relations do not allow the situation where Mr. Piech took the liberty to call the prime minister 24 hours before the German concern canceled its application for bank credits. We are in regular contact.

[Kulich] You said last year that you wanted to eliminate industrial holdings. The large ones still exist, all of them, and new ones are even being established.

[Dlouhy] No. For example, Poldi Kladno is liquidating its holding steadily and quickly. We have dismantled a number in the machine industry, and there are only several left. It is difficult to eliminate them, not only because we do not have time to do it from the systemic viewpoint but also because their financial situation is difficult. We have destroyed entire production and economic units and general directorates.

[Kulich] I did not mean large state-owned units, but really large holdings, such as CKD [Ceskomoravska Kolben Danek] Prague.

[Dlouhy] Prague's CKD is a typical example. It is an enterprise that we were prepared to abolish last year, but its privatization project had been approved, and the first wave of coupon privatization was under way. It was very difficult. Moreover, when dismantling such a large holding, there is a danger that disputes about the trademark could arise, and other problems.

[Kulich] Are you, on the contrary, considering concentration in some other cases?

[Dlouhy] Yes, for instance, in the case of Nova Hut in Ostrava and the Ironworks in Trinec, where the interconnection of a number of competing productions could be one of the possibilities. Moreover, the state still has a decisive property share here.

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Envoy to U.S. Protests Local Newspaper Article

LD0808141194 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Branislav Lichardus, Slovak ambassador to the United States, has responded to the article carried by the U.S. daily WASHINGTON TIMES, which said that the arms exported from Slovakia to the countries of the former Yugoslavia are worth $170 million.

In a letter to the daily's editor in chief, which asks that a correction be published, Branislav Lichardus refers to specific official and well-founded sources, noting at the same time the vague nature of the sources used by the author of the article.

Our ambassador denies some statements made by the WASHINGTON TIMES and cited statistical data from the [Slovak] Economics Ministry as saying that the total exports of arms and military materiel between April 1992 and April 1994 amounted to approximately $4 million. Of this, $3 million were exports to the states of the former Yugoslavia on the basis of the UN order for the needs of the UN Protection Force.

HZDS Accuses Rivals of Bribery, Corruption

AU0808203594 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 2 Aug 94 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Repels the Attacks"]

[Text] Political rivals increase their attacks on the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] during the preelection period, in particular. These are often indiscriminate attacks and nasty blows below the belt through the mass communications media as well as attempts to break up the movement from within. The endeavor to use the short time before the elections for personal enrichment is intensifying. The HZDS cannot let these facts pass by in silence.

The HZDS Office told us yesterday that, on 23 July 1994, at a meeting in Bratislava's Hotel Rapid, involving the HZDS candidates for the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR], Deputy Michal Pridala stated publicly that, on the evening of 22 July, NR SR Deputy Vladimir Bajan had telephoned and offered him 7.5 million Slovak korunas [Sk] if we would transfer from the HZDS Deputies' Club to the Club of Independent Deputies (of which V. Bajan is also a member). In the presence of witnesses—Marie Klimova, Miroslav Hytka, and Irena Belohorska—Deputy Pridala also said that V. Bajan is offering this sum to other deputies.

Because there is reason to suspect that, by his behavior, Deputy Vladimir Bajan has committed the crime of indirect bribery, the HZDS Office has asked the Prosecutor General's Office to initiate criminal proceedings.

An Attempt at Bribery

HZDS Secretary Ivan Lexa has asked Prosecutor General Vojtech Bacho to initiate criminal proceedings against Engineer Ladislav Krajnak, the executive director of the National Property Fund [FNM], on suspicion that he has committed a serious offense. He committed it as a public official when, on 16 July 1994, during a personal interview, he persuaded Engineer Igor Mathe, a member of the FNM Presidium, to vote at a meeting of the FNM Presidium in favor of selling 49 percent of the shares in the Slovak Insurance Company to a strategic foreign investor (15 percent had been offered originally), who had offered Sk2 billion for this "package" of shares. Eng. Krajnak promised that Eng. Mathe would receive (in the event that the proposal passed) Sk30,000 as "a favor" for this vote. Engineer Mathe rejected the offer.

"I have reason to believe," writes I. Lexa, "that Eng. Krajnak's conduct has resulted in the serious and gross deliberate violation of his official duties, duties proceeding from his position as a senior member of the FNM's staff and, in causal connection with this, that he has committed the crimes of abusing the authority of a public official and bribery or, rather, attempted bribery."

A Letter to the Ambassador

HZDS Secretary Ivan Lexa has sent a letter to Maximilian Pammer, Austrian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Slovak Republic, in which he wrote the following:

"On Tuesday, 26 July 1994, the daily NOVY CAS published an article entitled 'Have Lexa and Co. Laundered Money in Austria?,' in which the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and I were smeared in a most unpleasant manner. NOVY CAS, whose influential coowners are Messrs. Lupsic and Kolbel, Austrian citizens, has repeatedly and unjustifiably smeared the HZDS and its leading figures in this way in an attempt to negatively influence public opinion before the coming early parliamentary elections.

"In view of the fact that the independent daily NOVY CAS is the property of Austrian citizens, I would like to ask you, in your capacity as the representative of the Republic of Austria in Slovakia, to take the appropriate steps to ensure that the record is set straight and to prevent further possible untrue accusations and denunciations being published against leading HZDS representatives and the movement itself."

Egyutteles Comments on MOS Candidates' Rejection

AU0808200194 Bratislava SME in Slovak 3 Aug 94 p 3

[Article by "(bog)": "Egyutteles: It Was Not Screening"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Hungarian Coalition's leaders in the coming elections are: In the Bratislava electoral district, Ladislav Florian—Egyutteles; in West Slovakia, Vojtech Bugar—Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH]; in Central Slovakia, Zsolt

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Komlosi—Egyutteles; and in East Slovakia, Ferko Barnabas—MKDH. Egyutteles Chairman Miklos Duray, as the leader of his party, is "number-two" on the Hungarian Coalition's joint slate in West Slovakia. Hungarian Civic Party [MOS] Chairman Laszlo Nagy is in 11th place on the joint slate in West Slovakia. This information was released to journalists yesterday by Egyutteles Deputy Chairman A. Duka-Zolyomi. "It was not any kind of screening," said another Egyutteles deputy chairman, J. Kvarda, in reply to a question on why his movement disagreed with the mayors of Filakovo and Tornala being placed on the slate on behalf of MOS. "We agreed in the coalition treaty that those candidates who had campaigned in previous elections for parties other than Hungarian parties could campaign in these elections only with the agreement of all of the coalition partners. Our party disagreed with these candidates," added J. Kvarda. According to A. Duka-Zolyomi, despite certain reservations, Egyutteles supports the government draft law on providing documentation of the origin of the money in privatization because it considers a referendum on this issue to be "demagogic and pointlessly populistic."

[Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak on the same date on page 2 carries a 500-word "lightning interview" with MOS Chairman Laszlo Nagy by Roman Vegh. In reply to a question on whom MOS has chosen to replace its rejected candidates in Central Slovakia, Nagy said: "We convened an MOS Presidium meeting in the evening of 29 July and decided in favor of the young lawyer Oskar Vilagi, who was deputy chairman of the People's Chamber in the CSFR Federal Assembly, and Janos Takacs, the deputy mayor of Filakovo."]

Daily Lists Parties Registered for Elections

AU0908064894 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Aug 94 p 2

[Article by Martin Krno: "Entering Into the Political Ring"]

[Text] The first stroke of midnight last night signaled the last chance for the political parties and movements to submit their lists of candidates to the registrars of the regional electoral commissions. When we wrote this article—after 1800 hours—19 entities had been registered. Some party bosses, however, proclaimed by telephone that they still intended to call in at the appropriate office.

The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] was the first to submit its list of candidates. Some parties left everything to the last moment, whether this involved putting the finishing touches to the lists or the smaller entities searching in the summer bathing areas all last weekend for the necessary 10,000 signatures to add to their petition. Therefore, our survey of the election-eager political scene may not be complete. Incidentally, whether this or that party or coalition has fulfilled the conditions for entering into the electoral ring will not become apparent until after the individual electoral commissions have held their first meetings.

The Communist Party of Slovakia [KSS], which was formed two years ago by the merger of two elements, the communist movement KSS '91 and the Union of Communists of Slovakia, intends to go into the elections independently. Klepac's Christian Social Union [KSU] will officially compete for the voters' favor alone, but we also find representatives from the Confederation of Political Prisoners, the National Handicapped Union of Slovakia, the KOVO trade union, and the Slovak People's Party on its slate. A small group of Social Democratic Party in Slovakia [SDSS] members, who disagreed with the coalition with the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], was registered at the Interior Ministry on 11 July under the name "Social Democracy" and has given the radically disposed Forum of Workers-Party of Workers of Slovakia [FR-SRS] shelter on its list. Undoubtedly, another left-wing party, the Real Social Democratic Party of Slovaks, which was founded in Levice two years ago by former SDSS Member M. Hornak because Volf's party did not seem pro-Slovak enough to him, will be a curiosity in these elections. The Republican Bloc-Republican Party of I. Duris and the Association for the Republic-Republicans, which is close to Sladek's Czech party, have registered separately.

The Slovak National Party [SNS] will go it alone. It has taken onto its slate representatives from the KSU National-Christian platform, led by B. Kunc, and reserved one place for the Association of Slovak Soldiers. According to the public opinion polls, it is on the verge of electability. A recently established movement, New Slovakia, of businessman R. Mosny, and the Movement for a Prosperous Czecho-Slovakia, which describes close ties to the Czech Republic as its goal, also intend to campaign for the voters' favor. Representatives from the Romany initiatives claimed originally that the new Party of Romanies of Slovakia and the Romany Congress (founded by J. Farkas, the well-known businessman from Rimavska Sobota) would go into the elections individually along with the Romany Civic Initiative [ROI] Union and the Party of Labor and Certainty. However, by 1830 yesterday, only the Romany Civic Initiative in the Slovak Republic had officially applied to take part in the elections. Members of the Party of Romany Integration, the Democratic Union of Romanies, and the Party of Social Democracy for Romanies should also be on its slate. The Liberals, a party that apparently has the youngest membership base, has also disseminated the names of its members to the Slovak Electoral Commission. However, its representatives declared recently that they will support the KDH, which, by the way, acknowledges conservatism. Among the lists of candidates in all of the regions, we find slates with representatives from the Party of the Democratic Center of Slovakia, which was founded by another businessman from overseas, J. V. Kasanicky. The recently established Party Against Corruption—for Order, Work, and Money for all Decent Citizens will also be a curiosity.

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However, let us return to reality, to those who, according to the most recent opinion polls, should get into parliament. The Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] of Deputy J. Luptak, who justifies his departure from the SDL by saying, in particular, that this party does not defend the workers' interests enough, will hold its premiere. The KDH has recorded a slight increase in support along with some of the representatives of the former ODU-VPN [Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence movement] led by J. Langos, who have teamed up within the framework of the organizationally hard-to-define Permanent Conference of the Civic Institute. Moravcik's Democratic Union of Slovakia [DU] has opened its slate to Cernak's National Democratic Party [NDS] and the Freedom Party and is managing to stay just above the 5-percent threshold necessary to enter the National Council. The situation is similar for the Democratic Party [DS], now led by I. Miklos, and the Party of Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen, which will proceed together under the DS's banner.

We will have only three official coalitions in the elections because the other entities do not presume to win the necessary 7 percent (for bipartite and tripartite coalitions) or, as the case may be, 10 percent (for quadripartite and larger groupings) of the vote. These coalitions are the centrist-right Magyar Koalicio-Hungarian Coalition, made up of Egyutteles, the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, and the Hungarian Civic Party. However, they have also offered their slate to representatives from the small Hungarian People's Party. Then, there is Common Choice, which is made up of three left-wing parties (the SDL, the SDSS, and the Farmers' Movement) and the Party of Greens in Slovakia. Finally, there is the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia's [HZDS] coalition with the Farmers' Party of Slovakia, which also includes representatives from the Slovak Green Alternative. However, we again point out that it is necessary to take this information with a pinch of salt.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 3 August on pages 1 and 2, under the headline "20 Parties and Groupings Will Probably Enter the Parliamentary Elections," carries a 600-word report by Juraj Alner on the same subject. This report mentions that the Party of Civic Accord has also registered for the elections, and carries the following table:

Name of Party (Coalition)	Number of Candidates[1]			
	Bratislava	West Slovakia	Central Slovakia	East Slovakia
Democratic Party	40	50	50	47
Democratic Union of Slovakia	31	38	43	50
HZDS, Farmer's Party of Slovakia	46	50	50	50
Movement for a Prosperous Czecho-Slovakia	13	16	13	22
Communist Party of Slovakia	8	35	49	30
Christian Social Union	19	48	50	47
Christian Democratic Movement	39	48	47	49
Liberals	1	0	0	0
Hungarian Coalition	28	50	50	43
New Slovakia	22	22	24	22
Slovak National Party	39	45	50	39
Social Democracy	6	11	15	15
Common Choice	25	50	50	50
Party of the Democratic Center of Slovakia	3	8	10	10
Party of Civic Accord	6	8	10	6
Party Against Corruption—For Order, Work, and Money for Decent Citizens	6	12	10	9
Real Social Democratic Party of Slovaks	8	10	0	5
Republican Bloc-Republican Party	0	0	16	0
Romany Civic Initiative in the Slovak Republic	4	6	15	20
Association for the Republic-Republicans	2	3	3	6
Association of Workers of Slovakia	9	29	30	27
Total	**345**	**539**	**585**	**547**

[1]Each entity can have a maximum of 50 candidates.

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Government To Establish National Antidrug Office

AU0808200994 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 3 Aug 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "A National Antidrug Office Is To Be Set Up"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—The Slovak Republic Government held its 21st regular meeting yesterday under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik. [passage omitted]

The government discussed and approved a proposal on the Slovak Republic's accession to the "Vienna Accord on Responsibility Under Civil Law for Nuclear Damage" and to the "Joint Protocol Concerning the Implementation of the Vienna Accord and the Paris Accord." [passage omitted]

The government discussed and made note of a proposal to set up a supradepartmental body oriented toward the campaign against addictive substances, a National Antidrug Office, with the proviso that the interior minister, in cooperation with the justice, finance, labor, health, and education ministers and the prosecutor general, draw up a concept for the campaign against addictive substances.

The government agreed with the proposal to recall from his post Vladislav Bachar, a member of the National Bank of Slovakia [NBS] Banking Council, because he is a member of the board of the Devin Banka Bratislava shareholding company, and executing the aforementioned post is incompatible with membership in the NBS Banking Council.

The government expressed its agreement with the proposal to annul the 1980 Agreement Between the CSFR Government and the USSR Government on Cooperation in Health Care, Medical Sciences, and the Medical Supplies Industry. [passage omitted]

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Kovacs Calls Ties With Slovakia Major Task

AU0808151294 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 3 Aug 94 p 6

[TA SR report: "The Head of the Hungarian Diplomatic Corps Has Received Slovak Journalists"]

[Text] Budapest—Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs received a group of Slovak journalists in Budapest yesterday. "One of the fundamental aims of the new government's foreign policy will be to forge balanced relations between Hungary and the countries of the region, while devoting special attention—naturally—to neighboring countries and, among them, to those countries with whom our relations in recent years have, for various reasons, been marked by tension. Hungarian policy considers achieving a significant improvement in Hungarian-Slovak relations and instituting a process of reconciliation to be major tasks," said the head of the Hungarian diplomatic corps. Laszlo Kovacs also said in this context that one of the necessary requirements is to settle contentious issues and to ensure that problematic matters do not prevent cooperation in other spheres. At the same time, he added that it would be advantageous to conclude as many agreements as possible in the interest of stabilizing bilateral relations between Hungary and the Slovak Republic in the economic, cultural, and other spheres.

In connection with the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project, Laszlo Kovacs said that while many people in Slovakia view this project as a symbol of Slovak independence, many people in Hungary see it as a memorial to the former system. "We think that it is necessary to discard this factor of political prestige, while policy should make it possible for the experts to find solutions that, from the technical and economic points of view—as well as from the points of view of shipping and ecology—can be considered to be the most suitable within the framework of our possibilities," said the minister.

Laszlo Kovacs said in connection with the draft interstate treaty that the Hungarian side considers as justified the Slovak demand that Hungary again confirms in it the inviolability of the borders. "We believe that the effort by the two sides to make the border as permeable as possible is justified and correct and we think that the effort to ensure that the two countries undertake in this treaty to guarantee, respect, and make practical contributions to implementing the rights of the mutual minorities in the spirit of several international documents is also correct and justified," added Kovacs.

Government Favors Breaking TV, Radio Monopoly

LD0808210194 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] According to the education minister, the draft media bill can be prepared within two weeks by an independent committee of experts. [passage omitted]

Gabor Fodor said that the coordination talks on the media had been successful. Despite this, the education minister has no illusions and said it was possible that the media bill would not be adopted with a full consensus in parliament. The committee preparing the bill has two weeks to work out the text in order for it to be submitted to the government in September and to parliament in October.

Government representatives and the Committee of Experts agreed that Hungarian Radio and Television's monopoly in public service information has to be broken. However, representatives of radio and television argue in favor of maintaining the present structure. According to Zoltan Jakab, representative of the television's leadership, the talks were basically about the possibility of selling off Hungarian TV2. Although a member of the committee working on the bill denied this, according to the television representative the intention of selling off TV2 is unequivocal.

[Begin Jakab recording] The debate was about the monopoly that has to be broken without delay. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] According to Peter Molnar, a representative of the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], the sale of TV2 is only a possibility, but prior to this, the freeing of other frequencies, such as the frequencies used by the military, the Interior Ministry, and the national security services, has also to be examined. [passage omitted]

Official Views Preparations for EU Membership

AU0908072194 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 6 Aug 94 p 6

[Interview with State Secretary Endre Juhasz, chairman of the Office for European Affairs, by Sandor T. Bekes; place and date not given: "We Have To Prepare for Union Membership—We Can Also Strengthen Our Eastern Relations"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Bekes] Has the establishment of the new government brought any changes in the tasks of the Office for European Affairs [EUH]?

[Juhasz] Essentially, no. Our task remains to be the promotion of Hungary's European integration and the preparation of the Hungarian economy for meeting the requirements of membership in the European Union. We have to ensure that the association agreement is implemented and make sure that it is further developed and that the Hungarian positions are improved and protected. In addition to this, we are responsible for coordinating foreign aid; the European Union, as is know, plays a determining role in this. Our office carries out domestic and foreign activities. I am also chairman of the EU Membership Committee. At the same time, we have to inform society about the European Union's requirements, we have to plan the process of integration, and organize the preparations for it. Therefore, the process has domestic and foreign aspects. The EUH

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formerly belonged to the Ministry of International Economic Relations, and now, after the two ministries have been merged, it operates within the framework of the Industry and Trade Ministry. [passage omitted]

[Bekes] After the new government was inaugurated, it has been suggested, in connection with certain statements, that the associate agreement might be renegotiated. After the official denials, it came to light that further development of the associate agreement was meant by this. Was this discussed at the talks with the European Union's ambassador in Budapest?

[Juhasz] I learned about this issue after it had been clarified. I am glad that we are not talking about an overall renegotiation. We also confirmed this for the ambassadors. However, it is necessary to develop the associate agreement made with the European Union further, especially if we take two factors into consideration. These are the forthcoming EU membership of the four countries of the European Free Trade Association on one hand, and the other factor is that the associate agreement will also have to reflect the results of the GATT Uruguay Round. I would like to mention it here that, for example, as part of the GATT agreements, barriers other than customs duties will have to be lifted in agricultural trade while the associate agreement that was made in 1991 defined mutual advantages in accordance with the old system. [passage omitted]

[Bekes] The new government announced the slogan of reacquiring the eastern markets. Will this lead to changing the proportions of exports to the developed countries, which already amounted to 71 percent of the total Hungarian exports in the first half of 1994?

[Juhasz] Exports to the European Union will not be harmed by strengthening the eastern markets. In my view, a basic change of orientation that took place in the past years—when exports changed over from the former CEMA [Concil for Mutual Economic Assistance] markets to the West—will not happen and this is not among the government's intentions, either. [passage omitted]

Bishop Tokes Views Government Program, Agreements

AU0508101694 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Aug 94 p 3

[Tibor Bogdan report: "Tokes: Historical Conciliation Too Early"]

[Text] Laszlo Tokes, Presbyterian bishop in Transylvania, considers the new Hungarian Government program's section on the Hungarians living in Romania "satisfactory." He stated this in his letter in reply to Prime Minister Gyula Horn, pointing out that it will be possible to evaluate truly the principles and goals laid down in the document when they are implemented.

In his view, the cause of the Hungarian minorities is a salient appendix to the bilateral agreements to be made and a basic component of general conciliation between the affected nations. In this sense, the issue is the settling of relations among the Hungarian, Romanian, Slovak, and Serbian nations, rather than relations between the minority Hungarians and the majority nations. At the same time, Tokes warns: It would be a tragic mistake to believe that the conditions for a historical conciliation have been established between Hungary and its neighbors. Romanian makers of politics who talk about a firm intent for conciliation and positive political will are, at the most, only interested in the acceptance of the provocatively mentioned border clause of the basic agreement. According to Tokes, the differences between the Hungarian and Romanian Constitutions pose unbridgeable obstacles of principle because the Romanian Constitution confirms the notions of state- forming nation and unified nation state which has discriminative legal consequences for the national minorities.

Tokes recommends the implementation of consensus in "our common affairs" with the legitimate Hungarian parties and representative organizations of the neighboring countries. This would mean more than simply taking the views of these organizations into consideration. The need for a Hungarian-Hungarian general agreement does not exceed the Hungarian Government's possibilities and it would be reasonable to set up a professional and coordinating forum to formulate this, he writes.

At his Nagyvarad [Oradea] news conference on 3 August, Tokes mentioned the Triest meeting [15 July] of Horn and [Romanian Prime Minister] Nicolae Vacaroiu where, according to his information, Vacaroiu asked about the expected reactions in Hungary to preventing Tokes's reelection as bishop. According to Tokes, this proves the restoration purposes of the post-communist and nationalist Romanian power and its intention to remove the opposition members who are unpleasant for it, even by interfering in the church's internal affairs.

Editorial Views Chances of Basic Agreement

AU0708173794 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Aug 94 p 3

[Editorial by Tibor Kis: "Variations on an Agreement"]

[Text] Romanian Foreign Minister Melescanu is undoubtedly right in interpreting the bilateral basic agreement as part of the European Stability Pact (meaning the Balladur plan). It is also difficult to resent Pozsony [Bratislava] for holding the view that the settlement of the national minority problems is an all-European task; therefore, Slovakia cannot be expected to do more or anything different than the other states of the CSCE.

However flawless the neighbors' arguments are, all this sounds a little strange to the Hungarians—at least, they all have the impression that something is missing. Compared to the Hungarian concept on the basic agreement,

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these statements give the impression that Budapest, Pozsony, and Bucharest are talking about something different.

Actually, this suspicion is not at all without a basis. According to all indications, at least at this moment, Hungary attributes a completely different role and importance to this document than its two partners do. In their view, the basic agreement is a simple entrance ticket to the European institutions. It needs to be signed primarily because Europe expects us to do so. It follows from this that the document need not contain more than what is absolutely required by the Balladur plan.

However, Hungary is still hoping for much more than this: historical conciliation with its neighbors. According to the Hungarian understanding, in order to achieve this, it is essential to fully guarantee the national minority rights and, in connection with this, to repeatedly confirm the inviolability of borders. It seems that these marked differences of concept do not bother the Hungarian foreign policy much—in fact, Hungarian diplomacy does not even appear to notice the differences. It is likely that this high degree of tolerance is part of the negotiating tactics. Nevertheless, it is unavoidable to answer a strategic question before the start of the actual talks—namely: What type of basic agreement does the new government actually want? Does it want to insist on its own version of the basic agreement, which it justifiably describes as having full value or, in a given situation—if all else fails—will it also be satisfied with a "limited version"?

Both ways have their own pitfalls. The main risk of insisting on the "Hungarian version" is that the signing of the document might be delayed for a long time because it is rather doubtful that the neighbors are willing or able to enter into a historic conciliation at the moment. In this case, even the European option might be questioned more precisely due to the postponement of the general agreement that would confirm the conciliation, some kind of substitute solution would obviously have to be found to prove our maturity for the Brussels institutions. This would not be a simple task, but it would not be impossible either. The other possibility presents many more problems. It is obvious that the limited agreement advocated by our partners would not be able to solve the national minority issue in the long run. On the contrary, such an agreement would very likely conserve the existing national minority conditions because, under the current economic and legal conditions, the Romanian and Slovak societies would reproduce them again and again. In this case, the question might arise: What is the point of having such an agreement at all?

These are serious dilemmas, but it might not be completely hopeless to try to resolve them. For example, why would it not be possible to accept that Hungary does not make an agreement without completely defending the national minotity interests? It can simply try to wait until the situation becomes mature for a historic conciliation with Pozsony and Bucharest. This basically has domestic political, economic, and social-psychological prerequisites in Slovakia and Romania, and Hungary is hardly able to accelerate these processes. If the negotiating partners obstinately insist on their own ideas, then this will probably be the most feasible way for the government. It would be easy to get public support for this.

It is much more difficult to achieve public support and the consent of the national minorities themselves for a limited version of the basic agreement. Should the government nevertheless be inclined to enter into this before the signing, it would clearly have to tell the public that, in spite of all its efforts, it has not managed to lay the foundations of a historic conciliation; that this is only a document that is meant to help European integration. Naturally, at the same time, it would also have to indicate that in spite of the agreement, Hungarian foreign policy will make further efforts to accomplish the national minority rights. Society's approval might, even in this case, be acquired although there would be much disappointment, especially among the minorities. In addition to this, the government would also probably have to defend itself against the accusation of being insensitive to the national minority issue. It is a big question whether this kind of solution is worth the effort.

However, one thing is already certain, before the beginning of the talks: Regarding the basic agreements, the government can rely on the public's common sense and reason. This society demonstrably understands the need for compromises; however, it would by no means forgive the lack of national solidarity. It would not at all forgive if the government tried to present the issue as if it had managed to achieve an agreement of full value, and it only came to light gradually that the situation is not quite like this. In other words, one thing is definitely to be avoided—namely, to announce that the basis of a historic conciliation was established at a time when it was still possible that the earth would start to shake under our feet the following day.

MDF Official Interviewed About Politics

AU0908072294 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 8 Aug 94 p 5

[Interview with Ivan Szabo, parliamentary group leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Sara Szeli; place and date not given: "Ivan Szabo on Cooperation of Right-Wing Parties—Professional Politics by the MDF"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Szeli] Regarding the future of the right-wing parties, do you agree with the view that the parties advocating Christian and national principles can only be effective against numerical superiority if they act together?

[Szabo] This would be the feasible way if we want to make progress. However, I would use the term center-right, rather than right wing. If someone uses this term,

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then I will accept the proposal unconditionally. The root of the problem is that the perception of society represented by Istvan Csurka [co-chairman of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party] cannot be called right-wing at all. I can also refer to an article by Zoltan Zimanyi who wrote that Csurka, who uses right-wing slogans, actually represents the extreme left. He represents an extremely tough socialist way of thinking. He feels that he belongs to the right wing because he presents his ideas to the masses with a strong national pathos. Csurka's thoughts are utopian. It is difficult to think about right-wing cooperation on this basis, because the center right has always advocated the classical bourgeois ideas and these expressed a differentiated society based on market economy and some kind of ownership. I think that this bourgeois center right certainly has to work together.

[Szeli] What is your view on the fact that the voter basis of the conservative right-wing parties consists of people in their sixties and seventies?

[Szabo] This can be seen as natural in a transitory period, because this is the only generation that can truly imagine what this form of society can mean. The establishment of a value system—as a true conviction rather than a slogan—which has never been given to the current young generation is an integral part of conservatism. Obviously, problems can also arise from this because they are unable to face the challenges of democracy's social market economy that are alien to them. The population that forms the country's society is unable to bear risks. We have to make the world view we represent attractive for them. Much patience and time is needed for people to realize that it is impossible to get back into the lukewarm quiet waters of socialism. We have to give reassuring answers to the questions of today. With emotions and reason, we have to convince the young generation that conservative thought is true, real, and contemporary. However, this national politics does not in itself mean techniques. For me, the Christian ideological system and national liberalism that were included in the Hungarian Democratic Forum's [MDF] statute by Jozsef Antall also define the techniques that can be applied. In the MDF's view, whatever is found to the right or the left of this violates human and religious rights. [passage omitted]

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Ex-NATO Official on Membership, Cooperation

WS0908091594 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 Aug 94 p 3

[Interview with General Henning von Ondarza, adviser to Polish Defense Minister Kolodziejczyk, by Pawel Wronski; place and date not given: "A Guide to NATO"]

[Text] *General Henning von Ondarza came to Poland for three days, and every one of those days was planned with German precision. On Saturday and Sunday he talked with Deputy Defense Minister Jerzy Milewski, and on Monday with Deputy Minister Jan Kuriata.*

We talked in the hotel of the Office of the Council of Ministers at Parkowa Street. The general spoke slowly, and he thought carefully about every word. Every now and then, he let some pipe smoke out of his mouth.

[Wronski] Beginning with the early 1980's, you occupied a high-ranking position in NATO. Up until March 1994, you were the chief of joint armed forces for Central Europe. Back then, when you were drawing arrows designating war games on NATO maps, did you believe that a war in Europe was possible?

[von Ondarza] What we had then was two opposing blocs facing each other. Officially, the Warsaw Pact was cemented by the communist ideology, which was based on the assumption of an expansion, of having a revolution that would cover the whole world. It was hard back then not to fear a war. Only when signs occurred in the 1980's that the ideology was beginning to collapse did the likelihood of a conflict get reduced.

[Wronski] Poland was among the countries that were supposed to be attacked by Germany and NATO. Right now, your are an adviser to the Polish defense minister.

[von Ondarza] We, both Germans and Poles, have changed a lot over the past several years. What seemed improbable has now become a reality. Still, while being a NATO officer, I never had any doubt that the Iron Curtain would finally collapse and that there would be just one Europe. To me, Poland was always part of Europe. When I was a child, I lived on my uncle's property in Osieczno near Poznan during the war. I had many Polish male friends. Because I am a Catholic, I prayed along with them at a wooden statue of the Virgin Mary, and we also had fun together. It was adults that sowed the seeds of hatred in children. I think we need a little bit of such spontaneous childlike reactions. The statue of the Virgin Mary is still there in Osieczna. Back in 1991, I met many of my old friends. They continue to take care of the graves of my family members, and I am very grateful to them for that.

[Wronski] You come from Prussia, which is where the best officers of the German Army also came from. Your grandfather was a general and your father was an officer.

[von Ondarza] They were exceptions to the rule. My ancestors came to Meklemburg from Spain. They dealt with building ships. They were entrepreneurs. My grandfather retired in the 1930's. He played the cello excellently, he hunted a lot, and he could ride a horse very well indeed. He was in charge of excellent regiments, but there was no aggression in him. He was aware that soldiers have always been instruments in the hands of politicians. It is not true that German troops were invading Poland with enthusiasm back in September 1939. Nobody wants to get killed. My father died during the defense of Berlin. The day before he died, he called home on the telephone; he was happy that the war was almost over.

[Wronski] You joined the Bundeswehr in 1956 even though the military profession was not popular among young Germans at the time.

[von Ondarza] The Bundeswehr is a completely different kind of army now than in the past. It is controlled by civilians now, and it is democratic. Young Germans who serve there are very open-minded. I could see during NATO exercises how they and French soldiers, for instance, became friends and how they served together. The same can be done with regard to Polish soldiers. The German-French reconciliation, however, began back in 1945, whereas the reconciliation with Poland began later than that. President Herzog's speech made at the Warsaw Uprising monument, where he asked for forgiveness, is to me simply a logical and very important step on the road to cooperation.

[Wronski] Still, no Western politician is willing to specify what kinds of impediments are an obstacle against Poland's joining NATO soon.

[von Ondarza] I can only repeat what Western politicians have been saying in Warsaw: "The question is not whether Poland will join NATO but when." NATO consists of 16 countries, and it is a very democratic structure. It requires the consensus of all of the countries. They have been showing an ever increasing will for the Visegrad Group countries to join NATO. First, however, command systems must be made uniform, and joint exercises must be conducted. Preparations for joint peace missions must take place.

[Wronski] Could it be that NATO is simply not prepared to accept new members because it has no specific goals in the new Europe?

[von Ondarza] I repeat: Openness and democracy require an agreement by all NATO members. I am telling you that there were very few people indeed who thought that the NATO-Poland cooperation would go so smoothly. From the West's perspective, the changes are taking place very fast indeed. The first joint exercises on the territory of the former Warsaw Pact will take place in September. It is a historical moment for NATO politicians.

[Wronski] Minister Kolodziejczyk is hoping that you will be our guide in NATO's corridors. Are they really that winding?

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[von Ondarza] They are not straight, that is for sure. I know which door one should knock on and with whom one should talk. I think these are important things to know. It is not only Brussels, however, that decides whether Poland will join NATO. It is also up to the soldiers themselves. A united Europe will not belong to the people of my generation but to young people like the soldiers I mentioned or like yourself.

[Wronski] I have never served in the military.

[von Ondarza] Then it is about time for you to join.... You see, I am still a military man (for the first time during our conversation, the general is smiling).

Poll Says NATO Favored Over Ties to Russia

WS0908091594 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Aug 94 p 4

[Article by NIKA: "Polish People: An Alliance With the West Is Better Than One With the East; Demoskop—Toward Russia, or Toward NATO?"]

[Text] Seventy-one percent of the Polish people who were polled by Demoskop in mid-July think that, instead of looking for alliances with Russia or other countries of East Europe, Poland should strive toward NATO membership. Just one-tenth of those polled think the opposite, while every fifth person polled has no view on the issue.

According to 40 percent of those polled, Poland will eventually become a member of NATO, but it will not happen for several more years. According to every fourth respondent, Poland will perhaps join NATO, but it will happen many years from now. This view was aired primarily by respondents with higher education.

Views that NATO membership will be secured in the near future were expressed less frequently (12 percent). Every 14th respondent thinks that Western countries will never allow Poland to join NATO.

When asked who the U.S. President favors when formulating policy, 41 percent replied that Bill Clinton is trying to maintain a balance between the interests of Poland and Russia. Still, there were many more views that Clinton tends to favor Russia (30 percent) than views that he favors Poland (13 percent).

The poll was conducted by Demoskop in the period 15-18 July of this year, using a representative random sample of 969 adult Poles across the country.

National Defense Minister To Visit Lithuania

WS0808144694 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 8 Aug 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "National Defense Minister Will Visit Lithuania"]

[Text] As we learned from the National Defense Ministry spokesman, Piotr Kolodziejczyk, minister of national defense of the Polish Republic, will visit Lithuania between 8 and 10 August at the official invitation of National Protection Minister Linas Linkevicius.

Polish-Lithuanian military contacts are regulated by an agreement on bilateral cooperation between our Defense Ministries signed in 1993. Last year, A. Butkievicius, who was at that time the national defense minister, took part in the ceremony at the Grunwald Battlefield. The head of the General Staff of the Polish Army paid a working visit to Lithuania.

Lithuania's military structures have not yet been finalized. This is why Lithuania is interested in an exchange of experiences in both the area of organizational concepts and that of technical equipment of the Armed Forces and soldier training systems.

Poland has already granted military aid to Lithuania: It has given it gratuitous equipment and armaments. It has also offered to train several officers at the Higher Officer School in Wroclaw.

It is envisioned that the talks of both ministers will concern issues of European security, particularly the situation in Central-East Europe. One of the topics of discussion is also supposed to deal with participation in the "Partnership for Peace" program. Both Poland and Lithuania have already joined this program.

Rival RdR Factions Hold News Conferences

WS0908092394 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Aug 94 p 2

[Article by E.Cz. and M.J.: "Movement for the Republic; The Split Continues"]

[Text] The Movement for the Republic [RdR] yesterday held two press conferences—at the same time and in the same Sobanskis Palace. One was organized by the RdR of Jan Olszewski. The other, which was forced by the confused journalists, was organized by the RdR of Romuald Szeremietiew. Both concerned the same issue: the entrance of the new RdR leadership on the register of political parties.

The RdR, which is chaired by Stanislaw Weglowski and whose honorary chairman is Jan Olszewski, reported that the Voivodship Court of Law in Warsaw registered the new RdR leadership on the list of political parties. It was written in item 172 on the register that the people entitled to represent the party in legal activities are, among others, Chairman Stanislaw Weglowski and Honorary Chairman Jan Olszewski. Thus, the previous decision was annulled: the decision in line with which the leadership of Romuald Szeremietiew, elected at the split congress in December 1993, was deemed legal. The group of Jan Olszewski supporters, which left the December congress, held an extraordinary congress in

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March, during which a new leadership was elected. These authorities were entered in the registration book on 30 June.

The RdR of Romuald Szeremietiew does not recognize the legality of the extraordinary congress and refers to it as simply a meeting. "The organizers deceived the registration court, which made a change in the registration book to their advantage. To our surprise, the court did not notify us about the ongoing proceedings and made it impossible for us to submit documents corroborating our arguments."

Szeremietiew's RdR appealed to the appellate court against the decision of the Voivodship Court.

The entire RdR consists of approximately 3,000 members. As Stanislaw Weglowski said, many members have suspended their activities. "Szeremietiew is supported by the majority of regional chairmen; however, the members support us. The following scenario may develop: Former chairmen will stay with them, whereas members will be with us."

Weglowski's RdR signed a declaration of cooperation with the Christian-Peasant Forum "Patrimony" of Roman Bartoszcze. It will also soon sign a similar declaration with Lukasz Czuma's Party of Christian Democracy.

"The united electorate voted for the divided right wing," Romuald Szeremietiew said about the success in the latest local elections. He termed the decision of the voters a "loaned trust," which refers to their impatience and disappointment caused by the lack of concrete unification steps. General agreements are not enough; the most important task of the right wing should be the establishment of a political formation with uniform leadership. Szeremietiew proposes that a joint commission of rightist parties be set up to supervise the selection of delegates for the unification congress. Representations of the parties would be commensurate with the number of their members. He will present his concept to the leaders of the rightist parties in the fall.

"If the right wing wants to have its own candidate for president, the unification process must be completed as early as this year," Szeremietiew says. The candidate should not be linked to any political party. According to him, such a condition is met by Adam Strzembosz.

SLD Conflict With Catholic Church Analyzed

94EP0078A Warsaw LAD in Polish No 29, 17 Jul 94 pp 2, 6

[Article by Macek Maziarski: "War—and What Next?]

[Text] Attacks on religion are not, unfortunately, surprising in today's Europe, and the statements expressed in which the church is denied the right to participate in public life, contrary to the doctrine of liberal tolerance in effect, are not astounding. This is totally unacceptable, but we must be aware that these are the realities.

But even against the background of the unhappy realities of a de-Christianized Europe, what has happened in recent weeks in Poland makes our country unique in the entire continent. The offensive undertaken by the atheistic left against the "black" [i.e., the clergy] is beginning to divide society according to denominational criteria. The main axis of the political divisions are no longer economic or social issues, but how the place of the church in today's state is viewed.

In the past two months, the groupings of the warring left—Alliance of the Democratic Left (SLD), Union of Labor (UP), and large factions of Union of Freedom (UW) and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL)—denied the church the right to exist beyond the private sphere, i.e., in the schools, the media, the Army, and political discussions. In the period of a few weeks, it came down to a peculiar religious war, the goal of which is to eradicate the church from public life and reduce the believers to the rank of second-class citizens, who are denied the right to publicly demonstrate their own beliefs. In TRYBUNA, I came across a sentence that eloquently summarizes the new doctrine: *Demonstrations of faith are very inappropriate.*

I am not able to cite here the dozens of utterances by very important leaders of the left, which proclaim the start of a religious war; therefore, I will limit myself to only one citation, the tone of which fairly well mirrors the spiritual state of the initiators of the antichurch crusade. On 30 June, Deputy Sierakowska warmed up to the struggle with the "blacks" as follows: *This is a religious state! Radio Joseph, Radio Mary, a spiderweb is ensnaring Poland! The Army is praying on command, and the greedy priests are shouting: It still is not enough! And now even a concordat!*

There is no doubt that this is the language of a war in which religion is being made an instrument and the object of a political dispute that polarizes society. I do not think any honest observer of Polish political society would not know who is responsible for provoking a religious conflict. The position of the episcopate until the June *Non possumus* [We cannot] was conciliatory and compliant. In the case of utterances by some hierarchies, we can actually call it a compliance bordering on naivete...

Janusz Piechocinski, PSL deputy, a man who can in no way be suspected of religious bias, defines the causes of the conflict thus: *The SLD found for itself a theme for the presidential campaign and for mobilizing the opponents of the concordat.* (GAZETA WYBORCZA 2-3 July). I think he is right. The religious war was caused mainly by the purely tactical calculations of the postcommunists, linked to the soon to be held presidential election and the recent self-management elections. The SLD's sudden antichurch offensive (abortion, religion in schools, concordat, military chaplains) has already led to dramatic

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divisions in UW and the PSL, and this, in turn, played a part in their relatively poor results in the 19 June elections. The playing of the religious card was also probably supposed to consolidate the opponents of Lech Walesa around Aleksander Kwasniewski—Walesa having already announced that he would stand for the presidential elections.

President Walesa immediately accepted the challenge. On 30 June, he said to journalists: *The time has come to define oneself unequivocally: politically, ideologically, and by values and faith.* Much points to the fact that, in politicizing religion, Lech Walesa sees an opportunity to obtain the votes of the Christian electorate. But on what are these calculations based? The strong polarization according to position on religion, thrust upon society, does not necessarily favor Lech Walesa. A large number of voters who are against the model of an atheistic state remember, after all, that it was he who protected and strengthened the "left leg." And so they see his present statement as a tactical move to gain back a lost political base. There is still time for another political candidate to appear, one who will inspire confidence in the Christian portion of the electorate. The unexpectedly favorable results obtained by the anti-Walesa center-right in the self-management elections also give a great deal to think about.

On the other hand, Aleksander Kwasniewski, too, may have reasons to justifiably vacillate. Will unleashing a religious war really improve, over the long term, his chances of being elected? The problem is that, when society is sharply polarized into believers and nonbelievers, in the climate of a religious war, the representative of the camp of the personal enemies of God can count on no more than 25 percent of the votes, and this is probably too few to dream about a presidency. Recently announced Public Opinion Research Center polls showed that 59 percent of Poles declare that they go to church at least once a week. The percentage of respondents who do not practice their religion, however, remains at a steady several-percent level. Even assuming that there may be large differences between those who declare and those who actually practice, it can be readily seen that Poles will not vote for a candidate who is clearly an atheist. Further unleashing of an antichurch offensive will probably shift the undecided portion of the electorate to the right, in the direction of historically verified Christian values.

The behavior of the SLD club during the recent Sejm voting on the concordat seems to indicate that confusion and embarrassment are growing among the postcommunists. The conflict between Miller and Kwasniewski revealed that the idea of political polarization according to religious critera ricocheted against its authors. The fundamentalists of the Sierakowska, Labuda, and Miller ilk do not yet realize that they have started a war that will end in defeat. The realists—Aleksander Kwasniewski is one of them—are already aware that they have opened a Pandora's box and things have gone too far. Therefore, they would like somehow to hush up the religious conflict they have caused. This will not be easy because it carries with it the risk of a loss of credibility in their own political base, which is anxious to settle old scores with the "black."

I believe that the more sharp-witted members of the SLD leadership will now move to the tactic of "stroking" the church. These actions will be uncoherent and inconsistent because the initiators of the antichurch campaign have unleashed forces that are not easy to control. It is very possible that, after the first sudden eruption, the religious conflict will be toned down and suppressed. This requires political tactics.

What conclusions can be drawn from this for the other side—i.e., for us? Certainly we should avoid all gestures that could change the cold religious war into an open, dangerous denominatioal conflict. No one would gain from this. On the other hand, not for a moment should we forget that an improvement in relations between the leftist authority and the church will come about only from tactical calculations, and not from a change in ideological position. The left, sooner or later, will again undertake this same offensive. For it, it is simply a question of choosing the right moment.

Finance Ministry Official Views 1995 Budget

WS0508142894 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Aug 94 p 4

[Article by Professor Elzbieta Chojna-Duch, under secretary of state in the Finance Ministry: "Budget Draft for Next Year; Strictly Controlled Optimism"]

[Excerpts] The primary goals of the "Guidelines for the 1995 Budget Draft" are: the maintenance of the growth trend in the economy, reduction of the inflation rate to 16 percent next year, and reduction of the budget deficit (especially limitation of the financing of the budget deficit with money from banks). Other goals, specified in the government "Strategy for Poland" program, may be achieved this year to a definitely limited degree.

The accomplishment of the planned inflation level will be difficult but not impossible. In the second quarter of 1994, despite positive trends in the economy, we observed a dangerous increase in the inflation pressure, which was caused by greater demand. This greater demand was largely a consequence of the fact that effective control of wage increases was disturbed; other causes include: an increase in electricity and heating prices, introduction of compensatory fees, and an increase in apartment rent fees, whose size is not known yet.

The great danger is a necessity for high budgetary redistribution, which is related to the substantial financing of the social insurances and to the rapidly increasing costs of servicing the public debt. Maintenance of a fast increase in the budgetary redistribution is a factor that slows down economic growth.

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Therefore, in "Guidelines for the 1995 Budget Draft," we try to maintain the real level of the budget expenditures in the GDP (we try not to worsen the condition of the state budget) and to outline the foundations of a development-oriented budget for 1996 and 1997. However, implementation of the goals of the "Strategy for Poland" program calls for some important and urgent qualitative changes in the spending of the public money. They should be preceded by systemic and institutional changes. The following are particularly necessary: reform of the social insurance system; effective and sweeping reforms in the area of health protection; reform of the economy managing center; more efficient activity of the state aimed at achieving safety in economic operations; and finally, limitation of the so-called gray market. Without these changes, it will be impossible for the state budget institution to support development trends in the economy. [passage omitted]

The forecast of the budget revenues in the draft of the 1995 budget guidelines is very optimistic but extremely tight. If the circumstances are favorable, the budget revenues may reach the planned level; however, the circumstances are not always favorable. First, we assume that the real GDP will increase by 5 percent. That means that the increase will be faster than this year (4.5 percent). It is very difficult to maintain such high growth dynamics in a situation when investments are rather limited. Besides, it also requires a favorable configuration of external factors. Second, we assume that the relation of the budget's revenues to the GDP will increase from 29.5 percent to 30.5 percent. We also propose certain changes in the tax system to the disadvantage of the budget (abandoning of the tax on above-normative salary increases, return to former personal tax progression brackets), which may result in smaller revenues for the budget. All the same, it is possible to achieve revenues of 786.4 trillion zlotys [Z] next year, among others, thanks to the fact that already this year we started the absorption of the gray market.

The proposed deficit of the state budget, Z87.8 trillion, corresponds to 3.4 percent of the GDP at current prices. However, the sum of the necessary loans is much higher. Apart from the budget deficit, in 1995, loans will also have to finance the adverse balance of foreign credits (Z10.1 trillion) and the payments of various kinds of obligations of the State Treasury (Z32 trillion). In all, it will be necessary in 1995 to get new loans totaling Z130 trillion (in the cash aspect) [(w ujeciu kasowym)], which means that the increase in the debt expressed in Treasury securities will amount to approximately Z150 trillion. If we take into account the condition of the capital market in Poland, this is not going to be easy.

In such circumstances, the state budget's possible expenditures in 1995 must be set at Z874.2 trillion. From this sum we must subtract Z163.6 trillion for servicing the public domestic debt and the foreign debt. Because we still want to get loans, we must pay off all of our debts on time to our creditors. [passage omitted] Last year, the costs for servicing the public debt were 10.6 percent of the expenditures of the state budget; this year the sum will amount to 16 percent and next year to nearly 19 percent. This means that there will be increasingly less money for all other purposes. [passage omitted]

Summing up, it is necessary to plan the expenditures very rationally. The financial situation is such as it is, and it cannot be changed overnight. It also does not seem possible to change to fiscal burdens without causing considerable losses to the economy and to society. We also cannot increase the deficit without causing negative consequences for the economy in the future and for future generations. [passage omitted]

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'Extremists' Oppose Policy Toward Hungary

AU0508122094 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 29 Jul 94 p 1

[Part three of editorial series by Ion Cristoiu: "The Historical Chance of a Romanian-Hungarian Reconciliation"]

[Text] In the previous issue I compared the Middle East conflict and that between Romania and Hungary. Another element of similarity is the following:

Both in the Middle East and in our region, there are forces that are interested in maintaining a conflict situation. In the Middle East those forces plot assaults. Here they are manifesting themselves more mildly. However, their provocation does not jeopardize the reconciliation process any the less. In Hungary, the foreign policy of the new government has caused lively dissatisfaction among the opposition, that is among those forces that, until yesterday as the rulers of Hungary, had tried everything to strain relations with Slovakia and Romania. Their criticism is extremely caustic. In answer to a Hungarian daily, Gyorgy Csoti, the head of the Democratic Forum's Cabinet for Foreign Affairs and Security and National Defense Issues, termed as "irresponsible" the stance adopted by the Hungarian Government regarding relations with Romania and the issue of ethnic Hungarians living in the countries neighboring Hungary. Bela Csepe [name as published], a Christian Democratic deputy, considers that "in comparison with the Antall concept (that is, that of the former government—editor's note) regarding ethnic minorities, the present one represents a step backwards."

The new Hungarian Government's policy regarding Romania has also caused despair among extremist circles in Hungary. An historic reconciliation between the two countries would gravely affect their interests. Therefore, parallel to violently denouncing the changes in Budapest's foreign policy, they are also making efforts to convince Hungarian public opinion of the existence of what they call the oppression of ethnic Hungarians in Romania. To that purpose they have organized a series of activities, such as a news conference on the "barbaric treatment to which ethnic Hungarians have been submitted in Romanian prisons," and have launched anti-Romanian attacks on television. Such activities are intended to prove to Hungarian public opinion that the beginning of the policy of reconciliation that has been announced by the new government is actually "national treason." It is no accident that such activities are initiated by organizations that have enjoyed the substantial support of the former government.

In Romania there are also circles that would rejoice if this favorable moment for reconciliation were missed. The extremist forces within the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] are aware that a rapprochement between the two countries would effectively amount to their political liquidation. Besides, Budapest's new political program, in which the issue of the ethnic Hungarian minorities living in other countries ceases to be a top priority, may lead to the loss of important support that they have been receiving from abroad. That is why these forces are driving the UDMR toward a radicalization of policy and to organizing provocative actions, as they are aware that such things will lead in turn to retaliation by the Romanian authorities. Such retaliation offers good occasions to prove to Hungarian public opinion that the reconciliation policy of the new government is a mistake, which will be dearly paid for by the Hungarian ethnic minority living in Romania.

As I have pointed out before, Romanian nationalist-extremist forces are also very interested in the failure of the reconciliation process. Corneliu Vadim Tudor, Gheorghe Funar, Gheorghe Dumitrascu, or Ioan Gavra could not exist as politicians unless offered the possibility permanently to wave the banner of the danger coming from Budapest. The moment the two countries make up, those demagogic politicians will be left without an object. That is why the Romanian extremist forces cannot follow with anything but disquiet the changes in Budapest's foreign policy. This is why they stage provocations intended to make the UDMR complain to the extremist forces in Hungary about the treatment that the ethnic Hungarian minority is being subjected to in Romania, as well as to offer the Hungarian extremist forces the opportunity to criticize the government for neglecting the fate of the ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania and leaving it to the Romanians. Whether or not they do it on purpose, the Romanian extremists are actually making joint efforts with the extremists in Hungary and within the UDMR to boycott the Hungarian-Romanian reconciliation.

'Clear Answer' to New Budapest Initiatives Urged

AU0508122294 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 30 Jul 94 p 1

[Last part of editorial series by Ion Cristoiu: "The Historical Chance of Romanian-Hungarian Reconciliation"]

[Text] The interests of extremist circles in Hungary and Romania run contrary to a Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation. Those circles counter that process by staging provocations. Their position is perfectly logical. Less logical, however, is the position of the Bucharest authorities with respect to the signals coming from Budapest displaying readiness for reconciliation. I do not think that I need explain what reconciliation with Hungary would mean for Romania. At the international level, one of the favorite issues of anti-Romanian circles, namely the situation of the ethnic Hungarian minority in Romania, would vanish from the scene. The exaggeration of some of the real problems of the ethnic Hungarians, as well as the sheer fabrication of such problems, represents one of the main reasons for Romania's poor

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image in the world's press and the eyes of international fora. It is not seldom that the slightest tension in inter-ethnic relations in our country is interpreted by the West as a step toward the outbreak of civil war. This drives foreign investors away and makes foreigners doubt our country's stability. At the domestic level, reconciliation would lead to the disappearance of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], the PUNR [National Romanian Unity Party], and the PRM [Greater Romania Party], all of which are parties that nourish themselves solely from the existence of ethnic tension. A large part of political energy currently consumed on declarations and gestures in connection with the issue of the danger coming from Hungary would be freed for major issues, such as democracy and reform. Not to mention that the process of reconciliation would also boost bilateral economic exchanges, from which both countries would profit.

Despite all this, so far the authorities in Bucharest have not given a clear answer yet to the altered stance of the new Hungarian Government. Except for the case of the aberrant archaeological excavations in Cluj, the Vacaroiu government has not taken any initiative to attenuate or prevent certain provocations intended to increase inter-ethnic tension in Transylvania. The irresponsible actions of the Romanian nationalist-extremist forces have not been given the response that they deserve. In its predicament to achieve reconciliation with the Arabs, the Israeli Government did not hesitate to display extreme firmness with respect to the provocations staged by Jewish fundamentalists. Similarly, it is also surprising that the Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry waited until Wednesday, 27 July, to announce certain proposals suggested by Romania on resuming negotiations for the conclusion of the [basic] treaty with Hungary.

The stand taken by Romanian television—an institution with a major role in the molding of public opinion—with respect to reconciliation also strikes me as bizarre. So far, Dorin Suciu, the Budapest correspondent of that institution, has not sent any dispatch on the spectacular changes in the policy of the Hungarian Government. On the other hand, he never misses any of the provocations staged by extremist circles in Hungary. Whether or not he is aware of it, he is playing into the hands of Hungarian extremist circles, who are interested in the failure of the opening promoted by the new Hungarian Government. This is so because the provocations staged by Hungarian extremist forces are intended to arouse Romanian public opinion against Hungary and to create public opinion in our country opposed to any attempt to achieve rapprochement between Budapest and Bucharest. Lacking all nuances, without specifying that the provocations actually only come from certain extremist circles and certain structures of the former rulers, rather than the current government, the reports of Dorin Suciu try to convince Romanian public opinion that this is the Hungarian Government's position.

If in the case of the government, to a certain extent, hesitations are understandable (as the Vacaroiu cabinet depends on the support of the nationalist-extremists in the parliament,) the deep silence in which the presidency has enclosed itself is absolutely groundless. Owing to the nature of his office, the president does not depend on any of the political parties. Ion Iliescu would be able to commit himself to the historic process of Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation even without the approval of nationalist-extremist forces. That would be a very good occasion for him to prove to us, at long last, that he is able to ascend to the greatness of historic moments. Because the current moment, favorable for Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation, is a historic one. Nevertheless, Romania could miss it. If it does not have statesmen able to turn it to good account!

Editorial Criticizes 'Improvised' Foreign Policy

AU0808151594 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Aug 94 p 1

[Editorial by Bogdan Ficeac: "Improvised Foreign Policy"]

[Text] An unofficial meeting between the Romanian and Hungarian defense ministers took place in Gyula last Saturday [30 July]. The next meeting will take place in Budapest next September, although it was scheduled to be held in Bucharest. Minister Gheorghe Tinca said that he is ready to go even to Honolulu if he can see a chance for an understanding with Hungary. Even though that statement was made jokingly, we would nevertheless like to ask the following question: Why, Mr. Minister? Does your statement not sound a bit like begging? Do you not think that this understanding is of equal interest to both sides? Generally speaking, the way in which the "historic reconciliation" with Hungary is being treated seems to reveal an exaggerated fear on our part of the possibility of failure. What do we have to fear? That Hungary will not recognize the current borders and that extremist circles will again increase their pressure for territorial claims? That is their problem, as each state is promoting the kind of foreign policy that it sees fit. But let us not forget that Hungary is half the size of Romania and Transylvania is not a "piece of pressed cheese from which anyone can take as much as he likes," as Mr. Tinca's predecessor said. But let us not judge things in a simplistic way, but rather within the current European and even world geopolitical context. After Yugoslavia's disintegration, Romania has become the largest country in south-eastern Europe. Being situated at the intersection of several spheres of influence, close to certain zones of conflict, it can play an extremely important role, particularly in maintaining stability in the region, a stability which will obviously be reflected at the level of all Europe. It may be no accident that the current Hungarian Government has redefined its position vis-a-vis the Hungarian minorities in Slovakia and Romania. The Western response has not been too favorable for the aggressive stand. Consequently, Romania

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must make use of these propitious circumstances to improve its relations with our neighbors. This, however, should not be done in humility, but rather with dignity and in full awareness of our true position in this region. Unfortunately, Romanian foreign policy seems to be devoid of this very dignity. In this respect, we must show full admiration for our Hungarian neighbors. Although they are a small country, they know how to impose themselves internationally, to integrate themselves usefully in the play of alliances, to create a favorable image for themselves, to form a strong lobby that can always support their interests, to involve almost the entire Hungarian diaspora in the promotion of the foreign policy of the mother country, and so forth. The effects did not have to wait long to become obvious. Although leftist forces have surprisingly emerged victorious in the latest elections, Hungary continues to be considered in Europe as one of the first former communist countries capable of rapid integration into democratic European structures.

For the past four year, Romania has conducted an improvised foreign policy. It is true that our country is present at various international official or unofficial meetings; but what are the results of such trips abroad, apart from the personal satisfaction of the respective delegations at having visited foreign countries? Let us not forget that our admission to the Council of Europe was done in an almost embarrassing way, given the countless postponements that it was submitted to; similarly, the most-favored- nation status was also obtained with great difficulty. Generally speaking, we cannot recall any outstanding success of our diplomacy. On the military level perhaps, our contacts with NATO have been more numerous. What else? Nothing. This is only natural, as long as the current power does not show any real concern with restoring Romania to its deserved place among the European nations. There are no medium- or long-term strategies and no working groups specialized in drawing up such strategies. The still existing nuclei of certain specialized institutes are being ignored and there is no concern with putting together an elite diplomacy capable of having the Romanian diaspora promote our national interests. We will never gain international respect if we resort to reproaches without resonance—when we are attacked—or to humility or occasional flattery. Whether we like it or not, we must admit that what is happening today in the Moldova beyond the Prut River is a shameful failure of Romanian foreign policy.

But then, how can you gain respect abroad when the domestic disaster has no end in sight? What can we show to international public opinion: The ever-growing corruption? The various crooked deals like Caritas [bankrupt pyramid scheme] or the more recent affair of the ownership certificates? The plundering of humanitarian aid received from abroad? The privatization fake? The nationalist-communist outrage tolerated by the current power? The disrupted economy? Or the continuous decrease in the living standards of the majority of the population?

One thing is certain. We will not be shown respect by others as long as we do not respect ourselves. Unfortunately, the current offensive of crookedness and hypocrisy does not give us much reason for hope.

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Question Determined for 27-28 Aug Referendum

LD0808212394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2038 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—The question to be posed to the citizens of the [Bosnian] Serb republic at the referendum scheduled for 27-28 August is: "Are you in favor of the maps on the territorial demarcation of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, as proposed by the international contact group?" This was reported by SRNA this evening.

According to the agency, Petko Cancar, chairman of the commission for the implementation of the referendum, said at a news conference today that the preparations are proceeding on schedule.

The voting stations in all Serb republic municipalities will be open on 27 and 28 August from 0700 to 1900, and 1 million ballot papers will be printed.

According to Cancar, Serb republic citizens currently residing in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will be able to cast their ballots at local Serb republic missions.

Karadzic on Split Between Bosnian Serbs, FRY

LD0808164694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1637 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug. 8 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb president Radovan Karadzic met with Patriach Pavle of the Serbian Orthodox Church for three hours on Monday at the Bosnian Serb headquarters in Pale.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA quoted Patriarch Pavle as saying, 'We have come on a mission of peace: general peace and peace among brothers.'

'It was our duty as Christians and human beings. Saint Sava (founder of the Serbian Orthodox Church) went on the same mission of peace among brothers,' said the patriarch.

SRNA quoted Karadzic as saying, 'The patriarch's visits are always great events for us. The Serbian Orthodox Church is a pan-Serbian church and has preserved the unity of the Serb people. At this difficult time, the visit is of great importance.'

Describing relations with Yugoslavia as 'difficult and delicate,' Karadzic told SRNA the split between Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serbs could 'contribute to the maturing of the Bosnian Serb republic.'

Karadzic said, 'We understand that Serbia and Montenegro can no longer follow us and that they have to go their own separate way, but they should also understand that we, too, must go our own way.'

The Bosnian Serb president said the time had come for the international community to recognize the independence of the Bosnian Serb republic, saying, 'Never in history has a people abandoned a state they themselves had created.'

Serbian Leadership Introduces 60-Hour Workweek

AU0808194294 Paris AFP in English 1807 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Zagreb, Aug 8 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serb leadership Monday introduced a 60-hour working week and banned holidays, the latest in a series of measures to put their beleaguered economy on a war footing following a rift with Belgrade.

In a decree broadcast on Bosnian Serb television, monitored here, the authorities introduced a 10-hour working day with Sunday as the only day of rest, scrapped holidays and ordered back to work those already on vacation.

Holidays and paid vacation were "suspended for the duration of the emergency measures," said the television station, broadcast from the Serb headquarters in Pale, near Sarajevo.

The measures "came into force today (Monday)," the broadcast added.

Under the decree medical staff are banned from changing their place of work or travelling to the rump Yugoslavia, comprising Serbia and Montenegro, without permission from the self-styled Serb republic's defence ministry.

The latest measure followed weekend orders by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic mobilising all able-bodied civilians living in Serb-held areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

Serbs Reportedly Dissatisfied With Leaders

AU0808193494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] The keepers of the order and constitution of the parastate formation in Pale find it increasily difficult to keep the growing revolt of the masses and the army under control . They find it ever so hard to conceal the truth about the inevitable disintegration of the system that was built with the fascist methods—terror, looting, and false promises, the Information Service of the 1st Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army reports.

Dissatisfaction and anger of the Serbian people on the temporarily occupied territories of an internationally recognized state of Bosnia-Herzegovina has reached its peak with the recent decision of Karadzic's military authorities to mobilize its remaining population into the so-called labor platoons.

With an aim of preventing ever increasing desertions, especially in Vogosoca and Ilijas communes and on Nisicki Plateau, the headquarters of the so-called Sarajevo-Romanija Corps has issued an order according to which any case of indecision or defeatism by soldiers and officers should be punished with summary execution. More than 400 Chetniks who had deserted have passed through the military prison in the building of the former grammar school in Ilijas over the past five months.

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While the Serbs from Vogosca are increasingly more openly disgruntled in their expression of disagreement with Karadzic's option of the continuation of the war, those in Ilijas would not renounce their war intentions. Dragan Blagojevic Beba, a former private entrepreneur from Dubinice, and his group of extremists particularly excel here.

The intolerance between the local population and the refugees is gaining in prominence, too. Daily clashes of the indigenous Chetniks and the newcomers from Serbia and Montenegro are caused by division of booty, which is growing increasingly sparse. In one such clash of the robbers, a notorious Chetnik butcher Dragan Damjanovic, who is currently living in Semizovac, sustained injuries of the hand.

All in all the so-called Serbian republic is facing a military and political collapse while its leaders-war criminals are getting closer to the day when they will have to account for their crimes, says a statement by the Information Service of the 1st Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Ganic Urges Lifting of International Arms Embargo

LD0908101694 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0515 GMT 9 Aug 94

[Interview with Ejup Ganic, vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, by announcer Wolfgang Labuhn; Ganic speaks in English with superimposed German translation; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Labuhn] The latest escalation of the Bosnian conflict seems to be turning into another trial of strength between the Bosnian Serbs and UNPROFOR. When last week only NATO air strikes induced the Serbs to return weapons which they had stolen from a depot in the 20 km exclusion zone around Sarajevo, Serb leader [Radovan] Karadzic threatened to call a general mobilization in the Serb-controlled part of Bosnia and declare total war in Bosnia, whereas UN General [Michael] Rose has now demanded the complete demilitarization of the Sarajevo area. Before the program we had an opportunity to ask Ejup Ganic, the vice president of the Muslim-Croatian Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, about the prospects for the success of this plan.

[Ganic] We have always supported the complete demilitarization of Sarajevo, and therefore we agree with this proposal. We proposed this a long time ago, and it will be possible if the whole international community is committed.

[Labuhn] For the time being the UN troops have been taking action specifically against snipers around Sarajevo. Has this been a success?

[Ganic] Our side gave them the green light. We signed the relevant agreement when UNPROFOR asked us to do so. However, the Karadzic Serbs are refusing to accept the same agreement. UNPROFOR is seeking at the moment to gain the Serbs' approval. We will soon know the result. Unfortunately, the snipers are still active on the Serb side.

[Labuhn] The latest escalation in tension is no doubt the result of the decision by Serbia's President [Slobodan] Milosevic to close the border between Serbia and Bosnian Serb territory and to refuse Karadzic any further support because of his rejection of the latest peace plan after the UN Security Council considered further sanctions against rump Yugoslavia. How isolated are the Bosnian Serbs now?

[Ganic] They will be isolated only when international troops monitor the border between Serbia and Bosnia and when Serbia recognizes Bosnia's independence. This would be the first sign of isolation of the Bosnian Serbs. At the moment we have only declarations, but statements do not change much on the ground. Someone has to take much more specific measures on the ground, and that means closing the border between Serbia and Bosnia, but closing it using international force.

[Labuhn] So you expect the deployment of UN troops along the border between Bosnia and Serbia.

[Ganic] Yes.

[Labuhn] In your view, is Milosevic serious or is all this just a show for the United Nations?

[Ganic] We don't know. We are very, very cautious because [passage indistinct] will depend on whether Milosevic is prepared to accept international troops at the border and to recognize Bosnia's independence.

[Labuhn] Karadzic has now ordered the introduction of a general labor service and has considered proclaiming a state of war on Bosnian Serb territory which would also involve a general mobilization. Do you now expect all-out war in Bosnia?

[Ganic] If the international community were to lift the arms embargo there would soon be a cease-fire, in my view, and Karadzic would also accept the peace plan then. However, if the international community refuses to lift the arms embargo and deploy NATO forces to bring about a military balance in this region, then Karadzic could of course have his own way. Frankly speaking, the international community must respond in my view to Karadzic's announcements if they contain attempts to bring about further mobilization. He is a lunatic. The international community must stop him. The most effective way to do this, as I have said, is to lift the arms embargo, because if we have a military balance in the region, negotiations will be productive and real.

[Labuhn] What should be the aim of talks?

[Ganic] The negotiations are exhausted, so to speak, at present. I mean we have reached saturation point. There is not much left to talk about. We have negotiated for

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two and a half years. The international community has negotiated on our behalf and submitted a peace plan which the Serbs have now rejected. We agreed to the plan in the interests of peace, not because it would be an attractive plan as we have had to accept the aggression. However, we accepted the plan because peace is our highest priority. But at present further talks with Karadzic are pointless as we have exhausted all the options. He will submit only to military force and if a military balance is created here, of course he will accept the peace plan.

Sarajevo Airport Reopened for Relief Flights

LD0908112194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1100 GMT 9 Aug 94

[Text] Geneva, Aug. 9 (TANJUG)—Sarajevo airport reopened for relief flights Tuesday morning, when a Canadian transport plane carrying food landed, a United Nations spokesman said here. The humanitarian airlift to Sarajevo was suspended July 21, following a serious incident in which a U.N. transport plane came under fire, most likely sniper, while on the runway. The spokesman of the U.N. High Commisioner for Refugees said more transport planes were expected to land in Sarajevo in the course of the day. U.N. humanitarian agencies place Sarajevo's daily needs in food at 200 tonnes. Each relief flight brings in between 40 and 50 tonnes of food, medical supplies, and clothes.

Serbs Admit Holding Prisoners in Labor Camps

AU0808152594 Paris AFP in English 1507 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 8 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serbs have acknowledged holding 111 mainly Moslem Bosnian prisoners in a labour camp in Serb-controlled north-east Bosnia, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said Monday [8 August].

The list of 111 names was given to an ICRC official in the Bijeljina region, where Serb forces have been pushing out the local Moslem population since mid-July, said Lisa Jones, the Red Cross spokeswoman in Sarajevo.

The prisoners were in a forced labour regime, a practice which went against international law and put their lives in danger, said Jones, who was unable to give further details about the nature of their work.

The ICRC has not yet been able to visit these prisoners, who they believe are based in one or more camps in the villages of Lotare and Hase.

According to local people thrown out of the region, the total number of prisoners in the region could be as high as 600.

Bihac Muslims Reportedly Fleeing Army 'Massacres'

AU0908065794 Paris AFP in English 2358 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 9 (AFP) [Dateline as received]—About 1,000 Bosnian Moslem civilians, mostly women and children, crossed Monday from the Moslem enclave of Bihac, in northwestern Bosnia, into Serb-held Croatian territory, with thousands of others to follow, Bosnian Serb television reported.

The civilians crossed from the region of Cazin, 15 kilometres (10 miles) north of the town of Bihac, to reach the village of Maljevac, in the self-proclaimed Krajina republic, according to Serb television broadcasting from Banja Luka and monitored here.

Several thousand other civilians from Cazin were expected to cross into Krajina overnight, fleeing "massacres" carried out by Bosnian units loyal to the government in Sarajevo, the television said, quoting the general staff of Serb forces in Krajina.

The Bihac pocket has been riven by an inter-Moslem conflict between supporters of the local industrialist and millionnaire Fikret Abdic and forces loyal to the central government. Abdic forces have been pushed back into the northern part of the enclave.

Government troops last Thursday captured the town of Pecigrad, in the Cazin region.

Bosnian army officials said Friday they were respecting "all the rules of humane and civilised behaviour" toward both civilians and armed supporters of Abdic.

Recent reports have indicated that the Abdic forces have been losing ground to government troops, with Abdic confining himself to his stronghold in Velika Kladusa.

UNPROFOR Protests Sarajevo Shelling

LD0908084894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0828 GMT 9 Aug 94

[Text] New York, Aug 9 (TANJUG)—The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] command in Sarajevo has lodged a severe protest with the Bosnian Moslem authorities after mortar fire was opened in the Sarajevo exclusion zone, UNPROFOR spokesman Fred Eckhard told TANJUG Tuesday.

Bosnian Moslems launched three mortar shells near Butmir airport and the Kranjcevic street, Eckhard said.

No casualties had been reported, he added.

Army Withdraws From Positions on Mt Zvijezda

AU0808170494 Zagreb HINA in English 1552 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Vitez, 8 Aug—The Muslim led Bosnian Army on Sunday [7 Aug] withdrew from 'Hill 1349' on Mount Zvijezda, central Bosnia, to positions they held before the Washington Agreement was signed, local defense officials said. The Bosnian Army has also returned nearly all the arms seized from the Croatian territorials on 1 August, in line with the Croat-Muslim deal reached

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last Thursday. Fierce fighting between Bosnian Army troops and Serb irregulars was reported in the nearby Nisic plateau last night.

Sarajevo Radio Reports on Sporadic Fighting

AU0908094494

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 9 August carries in its regular 12-minute newscast several reports on fighting in the republic. Reception is poor.

Jadranka Milosevic reports from an unspecified location that "yesterday the aggressor's army again proved its military impotence by shelling civilian targets with heavy artillery. They fired with a 130-mm long-range self-propelled gun from the village of (?Gajevi) near Trnovo. Pazaric was hit by six missiles. The consequences were tragic: Two women were killed, and another person suffered serious injuries. The sirens that sounded the general alarm were muffled by the sound of the engines of NATO planes. They, of course, did not strike, but just observed the area. The enemy could continue regrouping its forces and digging in its heavy artillery." She says that "the morning is relatively quiet."

In his report from Visoko, Salih Hadzialic says that "it has been hell here since last night. Following the regrouping of the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor, at 1800, 1600 GMT, fierce artillery and infantry attacks were launched by Karadzic's criminals on defense positions from (?Grbovica) to the Kralupe front. The artillery attacks were followed by several strong infantry attacks. Chetnik artillery support was provided by 122-mm and 152-mm howitzers, as well as 82-mm and 120-mm mortars from the Ilijas steel works company [Zeljezara], (?Ravni Nabozic), Paljevo, [word indistinct], and other well-known Chetnik strongholds. These are all aggressor positions inside the 20 kilometers exclusion zone around Sarajevo. Hundreds of shells landed on our defense positions last night. The center of Visoko was also exposed to mortars attacks, so a general alarm was sounded at 2040 last night." He says that "all these attacks were repulsed by our fighters, and heavy manpower and equipment losses were inflicted on the enemy." "The powerful artillery attacks on our positions and civilian targets continued this morning at about 0500, and are still underway now," Hadzialic says. "Hundreds of shells have already landed, and five people have been injured. At 0840 the general alarm was again sounded in Visoko. Since early this morning the insane members of the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor's army have been initiating heavy infantry attacks on our defense positions, but they remain impenetrable and stable."

Reporting on the situation in Breza, Edin Cabarabdic says that "the citizens spent the night in their shelters because of intense Chetnik artillery attacks throughout the night. The civilian targets in Breza were exposed to destructive howitzer shells. The Chetniks activated most of their artillery positions around Ilijas. Heavy Chetnik artillery was fired from (?Podlugovi), (?Valjevo), Mrakovo, Visoca, and Karadzici. All these positions are located in the Sarajevo exclusion zone." He says that "at 0840 this morning the general alarm was again sounded in Breza."

Mirza Sadikovic reports from Bihac that "in strong attacks last night and this morning, members of the [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] 5th Corps liberated the entire Cazin commune and a considerable part of the Kladusa territory that were under the temporary control of Abdic's traitors. The heroes of the Bihac region liberated [words indistinct], and early this morning they captured one of the biggest strongholds of [word indistinct] of Abdic's rebels." He says that "the Kladusa rebel paramilitary is in complete chaos. They are all fleeing to the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina [words indistinct]."

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 4th Corps reports that "yesterday evening the aggressor fired 82-mm mortars at our positions in (?Grabina) in the southern part of the theater of operations of the 4th Corps. At about midnight the Chetniks from (?Borac) started to shell the outskirts of Konjic but they quickly stopped after our fighters returned fire."

As for the situation in Sarajevo, the studio announcer cites the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps as stating that "there has been plenty of activity on the territory under the temporary control of the aggressor. One tank passed overnight from Lukavica to Vojkovici, while another one went off in the direction of Kula. Five full trucks went from Lukavica to Mt. Trebevic, while another four, also loaded, went from Kula to [words indistinct]. The enemy has been carrying out engineering work near the airport." He says that "over the last 24 hours, in the theater of operations of Operative Group 3, the enemy has been using antiaircraft weapons and 60-mm and 82-mm mortars against defense positions and residential areas."

Serbian Attacks on Brcko, Gradacac Reported

AU0908095994

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 9 August carries in its regular 5-minute newscast three reports on the situation on the Brcko, Gradacac, and Zvornik fronts.

The Gradacac Information Service reports that "after a quiet night, early this morning the aggressor launched an extremely strong artillery and infantry attack. At 0320 the entire northern and north-eastern sector of the lines came under attack from 60-mm and 82-mm mortars from the direction of (Ledenice) and (Tamosica). After these artillery attacks, in which over 100 shells were fired, the aggressor launched an infantry attack at about 0500. Our fighters managed to repel this attack in its

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initial phase with a well-organized action, and inflicted new casualties on the aggressor. The artillery attacks continued afterward both on the defensive positions and the industrial city zone. At 0600 the attacks let up." The report says that "during the night new overflights were registered of enemy helicopters going from Brcko to Bosanski Samac, and the road traffic of military vehicles along the so-called Posavina corridor was extremely lively."

In his report from Brcko, Hamiz Deronjic says that "the attacks by the Serbian aggressor on the positions of the 108th Motorized Brigade continued overnight. Furious because of the lost territory of Donja Brka, the enemy has been keeping our positions on the central part of the front under constant fire. Last night at 2040 the Chetniks from the direction of [Bosanski] Brod also used chemical agents in addition to the usual tanks, mortars, self-propelled rocket launchers, and antiaircraft machine guns. However, the aggressor did not manage to shift the fighters of the 108th Motorized Brigade even an inch from the central part of the front." He says that "it was fierce last night on the Vranovaca-Begovaca front, where the Chetniks used 82-mm mortars and antiaircraft machine guns. The enemy artillery was also used on the Djukici front last night."

Nijaz Banjanovic reports from the Zvornik Press Center that "last night's attacks on the free territory confirmed that the Chetniks are not thinking much about peace. A strong artillery attack was followed by a heavy infantry attack on Kovacevici, which started at 1930 and went on until 2200. During this attack, the Chetniks used all their artillery from Androvici and Boskovici against the defense lines and residential areas on the free territory. They also frequently regrouped their tanks and other artillery. However, the brave fighters of the 206th Chivalrous Brigade were not taken by surprise. They repelled all the attacks and pushed back the Chetniks to their initial positions, also inflicting heavy losses on them in manpower. The legendary hill of death in Kovacevici—as the Chetniks call it—has become the burial place for many bearded men [reference to beards customarily sported by Chetniks] who took part in this attack."

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Martic Offers To Mediate in Serbian Split

LD0808175694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1727 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Knin, Aug. 8 (TANJUG)—Serb Krajina president Milan Martic said Monday he wanted to meet Bosnian Serb leaders and Serbian officials in Yugoslavia as soon as possible to mediate between them.

In a statement released by his office in Knin, Martic said that considering the current situation, further strained relations would be intolerable. He also said that all problems should be overcome through talks.

Yugoslavia on Thursday broke all economic and political ties with the Bosnian Serb republic following the decision of the Bosnian Serb national assembly to put the 'Contact Group' division plan for Bosnia to a referendum vote on August 27-28.

Serbs in Croatia set up their own state of the republic of Serb Krajina in 1991, after Croatia seceded from the former Yugoslavia and removed Serb national rights from the Croatian constitution. Martic was elected the president of the Krajina Serbs earlier this year.

UN's Mazowiecki Assails Human Rights Violations

LD0808205194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2041 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Zagreb, August 8 (TANJUG)—Special U.N. human rights rapporteur for former Yugoslavia Tadeusz Mazowiecki has said that human rights are violated in Croatia and that Europe will react sharply.

'When this report is discussed, Europe will react very sharply,' said Mazowiecki in an interview to Croatia's opposition paper FERAL TRIBUN.

'The ruling political philosophy makes it difficult for Croatia to get close to the level where human rights are respected,' he said, adding that the philosophy was 'based on war' and that 'human rights are put aside.'

That is why it is constantly said that 'someone, somewhere, is violating human rights,' Mazowiecki warned in an interview to the Split weekly.

The reason for this is that the public is not informed about human rights violations in Croatia, since control of that kind 'simply does not exist,' he said.

There are not even human rights courts, although they should have been established long ago under the Croatian constitution, Mazowiecki warned.

Mazowiecki did not comment a question about mass graves of Serbs in the region of Pakracka Poljana in western Slavonija, but his assistant Roman Wirushewski, FERAL TRIBUN said, showed surprise and asked where the region was and when the Serbs had been buried there.

Upon receiving the answer, Wirushewski said: 'Mr. Mazowiecki had not yet received his mandate at that time,' FERAL TRIBUN said.

Around 2,500 Serbs were killed and buried in Pakracka Poljana from October 1991 until the spring of 1992, said a government memorandum on Croatian crimes which the republic of Serb Krajina sent to the U.N. secretary-general.

Local Serbs were killed and many were also brought there from Zagreb, Rijeka and other Croatian towns, the memorandum said.

Croatian papers have also reported that death squads, under the command of Tomislav Mercep, took part in the mass extermination of Serbs in that region. Mercep, a senior Croatian police official, is currently a deputy of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union.

According to the Krajina authorities, 14,000 Serbs have been killed in Croatia since 1991, and more than 300,000 others have been expelled through systematic pressure, including the blowing up of their houses.

Weekly Resumes Publication, Protests 'Censorship'

LD0808131794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Zagreb, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—The Split-based opposition weekly, FERAL TRIBJUN, which ceased publication following a decision by the Croatian authorities to impose a tax identical to that paid by pornographic magazines, was back on sale today.

The authorities have not rescinded their decision and, according to the weekly, its editors have filed an appeal with the Constitutional Court against the Republic of Croatia, or rather against the Ministry of Culture and Education.

The appeal stresses that the Croatian authorities' decision is the most flagrant form of pressure on FERAL TRIBJUN'S editorial policy and that it is tantamount to totally irregular and arbitrary censorship.

At the same time, the Split weekly has filed criminal charges against Croatian Culture Minister Vesna Girardi Jurkic, who "breached the law and other regulations" when she signed the taxation ruling.

State censorship, not referred to either by the Constitution or the law, "is nevertheless in operation," Viktor Ivancic, FERAL TRIBJUN'S editor-in-chief, stressed in the editorial.

By signing the ruling, the lady minister of culture and education took responsibility for the attempt to gag an independent publication "despite the well-known fact that Franjo Tudjman is behind the initiative," Ivancic warned.

In conclusion, he said that by taxing FERAL TRIBJUN and resorting to brutal state violence, Croatia is drastically reducing public freedoms. He warns of "an erosion effect" which "can affect anyone in the country."

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Gligorov Looks Back on Nation's History

AU0508115594 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 2,3 Aug 94 pp 2-3

[Speech by Kiro Gligorov at the Academy Session of the Macedonian Assembly: "The Anti-Fascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia and Ilinden Are the Key Moments in our Struggle for our Own State"]

[Text] Esteemed members of the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Assembly, esteemed members of ASNOM [Anti-Fascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia], esteemed guests.

Last year we celebrated with dignity the 100th anniversary of the creation of the VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization] and the 90th anniversary of the Ilinden insurrection. The two events are of extreme and key importance in our struggle for our own state and national identity. This year we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of ASNOM, as a symbol of the continuity of our struggle for national freedom and a state, as a cornerstone in the centuries-long struggle of the Macedonian people for the achievement of their national and social goals. Without the insurrections, defeats, and experiences of the first decades of this century, new generations would not have been able to develop the strategy of the national liberation war based on modern realities. They used these events as a basis for the struggle, for finding allies, and for developing an efficient organization, inspired by a steady and consistent resolve to continue the struggle and accomplish the ideal of freedom and our own state.

Therefore, it is perfectly understandable to consider the ASNOM as a second Ilinden. The first was a glorious epic that embodied the spirit of nonsubjugation, that is to protest slavery and attain national freedom and our own state. The second was the accomplishment of positive national aspirations: A republic and a state in which the Macedonian people and all the nationalities living in it experienced a revival on the spiritual, cultural, and social levels. The identical basic messages speak of a great connection between the two Ilindens, regardless of the time between the two of them—the Manifest of the Krusevo Republic [the first Macedonian Republic in 1903] and that of the ASNOM. Both of them contain identical aspirations for national and social freedom, for a joint struggle of all the nationalities living in Macedonia, as well as for cooperation with all our neighbors. That is why we say that both these manifests make the foundations of modern Macedonia. That is why they both have a place in the preamble of the Constitution of the independent and sovereign Macedonia.

What is the characteristic of the modern struggle of the Macedonian people? Let us go back to history and remember: After the defeat of the Ilinden insurrection, some states that had been created earlier, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece, on the eve of the final collapse of the Ottoman Empire, clearly presented their national goals for annexing or dividing Macedonia. The Balkan wars for the liberation of the conquered "brothers" ended with the Bucharest agreement and the division of Macedonia. That seemed to be an end to Macedonian identity and to the ideal of our own state. Those who participated in the division of Macedonia grabbed parts of the Macedonian people proclaiming them as southern Serbs, Bulgarians, or Greeks of Slavic origin. They changed their names and surnames, they banned the Macedonian language, they forced them to study in foreign languages, and they imposed their own interpretation of history upon them. They forced them to be subjugated to their own churches. In brief, they made them second- class citizens, unreliable, unpromising, under constant surveillance, deprived of their own literature, deprived of a chance to continue their own traditions and culture, economically neglected, without any chances for development, subjugated to displacement and a constant exodus to overseas countries. The common goal of this policy was to denationalize the Macedonian nation and erase it from the map of the Balkan peoples, to wipe out and appropriate its history, its identity, and its aspirations to its own state. Our fate was unpredictable and the plan was to make us disappear through assimilation.

When World War I finished, the peace conference in Versailles reaffirmed the situation in the Balkans created after the Balkan wars and it looked as if our destiny was sealed. The basic tactics of the conquerors was to deny and ban the Macedonian language, its national history and propaganda, and thus melt away the Macedonian nation. They thought that it was just a matter of time before this process would be successfully completed in their favor.

We must not forget the calamitous activities of the state bodies of those countries, their propaganda and indoctrination within the organized Macedonian national forces. They involved constant efforts to divide the Macedonians with the aim of achieving their own goals, and most of all they were engaged in provoking mutual divisions, conflicts, and even bloody showdowns, with the aim of making them destroy themselves mutually. They urged and supported personal rivalries and ideological divisions, presenting them as terrorists, which strongly damaged our international reputation between the two wars. All that contributed to the demoralization of the people itself.

However, a nation cannot vanish so easily, particularly if that nation has its own history and authentic culture in the region. This is the nation that made a great contribution to the literacy, the religion, and culture of other peoples, too. This nation was created and it survived on the rudiments of various civilizations, maintaining the juices of its centuries old roots that gave birth to a new nucleus for a resistance and renewal. Conditions for new movements were gradually created and led to an integration of the forces of the people on the key national and social goals—national freedom and salvation from economic poverty. The entire international and domestic

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situation in royal Yugoslavia and on the territory of present Macedonia militated toward organizing a resolute struggle. The workers and the peasants were in an extremely difficult situation.

The world crisis in 1929, the stagnation and backwardness that lasted for two decades, the impoverishment and destruction of various classes of citizens, as well as the neglected, small but nationally aware, intelligentsia, without any chance of personal affirmation or of making a contribution to their own nation, presented ideal soil for the germination of a new movement. Conditions were such that this movement had to be either illegal or semi-legal, because its members were persecuted and even executed.

That was the time when fascism had started issuing its threatening messages—racism, no democracy or liberal ideas, a cultural and informative ghetto. Most of all, it was a campaign to achieve domination over Europe and the world. All the states and nations outside the fascist bloc and its axis were endangered. The basic achievements of civilization in Europe and mankind were at stake. National and leftist movements grew in number and each new invasion contributed to stronger antifascist resistance. There participated diverse forces across a wide spectrum of individual, national, and social ideas, with one common aim—to destroy fascism, the greatest threat to mankind, to freedom, and to the cultural and national survival of many nations.

Since our nation was then deprived of its rights, and since its social and overall existence was endangered, it was quite natural that it was attracted to the ideas of the communist movement—for the recognition of the Macedonian nation, for the right to self-determination and statehood, for social justice, and against occupation and fascist enslavement. In Europe and throughout the world the social aims of a movement did not matter, because the basic criterion was to be prepared to resort to arms and confront the greatest evil: fascism. As a result of all that, various movements were united into an antifascist front of nations, and all those who were prepared to engage in the armed struggle were incorporated into the antifascist coalition. When the United States and the USSR also joined this coalition, it was just a matter of time before victory over fascism would be won.

In the universal struggle against the fascist bastion of Hitler's Germany and its anti-civilization goals, the Macedonian people and their leading forces joined the actual winning side. Not only because this side was growing in power and strength, but also because of their perceptions for new relations in Europe and the world. The most important reason was because they knew that their chances of achieving national freedom and then creating their own state would be greater if they became a real actor in the struggle with their own armed forces.

The close connections between the universal goals in the struggle against fascism and our own goals, unaccomplished at that time, together with national and social ideals, made us hope and believe that it was a historic moment that had to be seized. Our people quickly realized that no occupying army could bring us national freedom and a state. That is why there never appeared a Pavelic, a Nedic, or a Rupnik in Macedonia, or a Draza Mihajlovic, or any other successful quisling. The attempt of a certain Ivan Mihajlov ended without success when he offered to set up an independent Macedonia under Hitler's sponsorship in 1944. That was the last attempt and when he realized that nobody supported his idea, he went back to his own masters. Macedonia was already breathing freely on its free territories, getting ready for the supreme act—the meeting of ASNOM.

The key decision in the whole period of the National Liberation War was the decision to engage in an armed struggle, to create our own army to liberate the country. We wanted to prevent stories that others liberated us, which would then give them the right to set the limits to our freedom and rights. It is true that Great Britain, the United States, and the USSR waged the great battles, but we were a part of these forces, and at the end of the world war our army consisted of 100,000 soldiers. It is a historical fact that not a single Russian soldier was killed on the territory of Macedonia in the liberation struggle, nor any of the Western allies' soldiers. We are entitled to say that we deserved our freedom because we made our own contribution and sacrifices for the freedom of Macedonia and of the other territories of former Yugoslavia. We can be free to state that we do not owe anything to anybody for our freedom, but we are grateful to all of those who helped depose fascism. We are also among them. We can be proud of the victories of the Macedonian Army, particularly during some larger military operations, such as the February campaign and the spring offensive, which are now studied in school as examples of successful operations under very difficult circumstances.

At the same time, in spite of the conspiracy in the Communist Party, the initial orientation was to include various types of patriotic forces in different activities to create conditions for the creation of a general people's resistance and a struggle against the occupiers and their servants, who were, fortunately for us, very few in number. With the spreading of the struggle, the national front became a strong supporter of the army and the leading forces, and most of all it contributed to the formation of the people's authority that grew into the state authority in course of the war itself. The national front's political basis and the network of people's bodies provided a rapid formation of all the state bodies after the war.

On this basis members of ASNOM were selected, in addition to members nominated by the army and political bodies.

The link between the national and social components in the National Liberation War was an expression of the real unaccomplished national goals and aspirations of

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our people, and at the same time the social component was to provide an answer to the actual quasifeudal position of the Macedonian peasantry (producers of tobacco, poppies, rice, and other plants) and to the poor wages of the workers. It was to provide an answer to the collapse of the craftsmen and merchants.

The resolute attitude related to the national issue, the analysis of the progressive deterioration of the economic situation and the social poverty of the masses at large made them join the struggle, in spite of the repression and terror used by the occupier. The occupying forces soon removed their masks by applying the same methods used by the Serbs—they tried to impose a foreign language, to rename them as Bulgarians, to change their surnames, to recruit Bulgars into all bodies, from police officers to mayors, and they distrusted the population, particularly the intelligentsia. Such activities fueled national dignity and the belief that we could only have our own state through an armed struggle.

I would also like to say a few words about the controversial question of the interference in the National Liberation War, inside the Communist Party of Macedonia itself, by some missionaries—members of the Headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. There were such cases of interference. Sometimes the consequences were bad and the damage great. However, it is a fact that the struggle was waged commonly, under one top leadership, although we were not represented in it. It is a fact that the delegates and instructors did not always trust the decisions taken by the Macedonian party. Some of the personnel were accused of nationalism, of anti-Serb or pro-Bulgarian sentiments, or alternatively they were accused of pro-Serbian feelings by the Bulgarian Communist Party. However, we must not forget that our nation was never questioned, or our right to self-determination and to have our own state. The people coming to Macedonia were not immune to prejudices, because of the burden that they were carrying from the place of their origin. Considering the decisions of the second session of ASNOM, particularly the decisions taken by the leadership at Vis, with the direct participation of our delegation headed by Metodija Andonov-Cento, we can conclude that our basic goals were not put in danger, although there was some turmoil, and some of the participants even became aware that some of the instructors were not as perfect as they initially thought. All this is a part of the heavy burden of the past and of the complicated process of independence of our people and state.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that throughout the war, in spite of the interference by the army and political bodies, in spite of their attempts to interfere and influence key decisions, decisions remained in the hands of the Macedonian leadership. The best examples of this are the decisions of ASNOM, although even in this there were conflicts, because some of the personnel were either manipulated or eliminated. Looked at retrospectively, and from the perspective of the distance in time, it did not change the historic events. Macedonia became a republic and a state. The Republic of Macedonia is a result of the armed struggle in which 24,000 people were killed. It is the achievement of the Macedonian people, the Macedonian Army, and Macedonian politicians. The best examples of this are the decisions of ASNOM.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The decisions of ASNOM are of great value even viewed from this time. They safeguarded all that is important for our nation and its national ideals. What strikes the eye is their democratic message about the right of citizens to equality, coexistence of all the nationalities living in Macedonia, a common struggle, mutual tolerance, and respect for the religious, cultural, and national characteristics of each individual and group. The Atlantic Charter and the principles of the new international order took everything into consideration before creating the United Nations and its Charter. What they had in front of their eyes was the Manifest of the Krusevo Republic and our known past.

Various generations participated in ASNOM: Ilinden fighters of 1903, as well as fighters who would be engaged in the years to come, including the new generations that had borne the heaviest burden—the battles, the organized resistance, and the creation of the bodies of national authority. There were also, although symbolic in number, Macedonians from other parts of Macedonia. All this put the seal on a prepared, mature event, won on the field of battle together with true allies.

With the decision of ASNOM, the independent state of the Republic of Macedonia was created. The fact that at the same time it was decided to join this new state to the Yugoslav Federation does not change the basic truth that the Republic of Macedonia was created as an independent state. Only an independent state can be a member of a federation and a part of its sovereignty in the international relations is thus passed to the federation. That is the reason why in all the institutions of former Yugoslavia, regardless of any particular changes, particularly in the social establishment, it remained that the republics were states that had formed a federation. The attempt to introduce a central establishment in the period just after the war prompted resistance in Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The SFR Yugoslav Constitution of 1974 definitively recognized the positions of the republics that had been achieved in World War II. As a matter of fact, the former constitutions were controversial in some instances, as remnants of centralism and the decisions of the second session of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia].

It is a historical fact that our state was created on 2 August 1944, on the basis of the decisions of ASNOM. The disintegration of the SFR Yugoslavia enabled us to organize a referendum and to take over all the functions

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that characterized our state as an independent international entity with full sovereignty. That is why we reminded the Badinter Commission that we have been a state since 1944, when we requested to be admitted to the United Nations, and that we were treated as such in the Constitution of the SFR Yugoslavia and that we are now only using our right to self-determination in order to renew our sovereignty and become an equal member of the international community.

That is why all those who are trying one way or another to alter, decrease, or minimize ASNOM and its decisions are wrong. As a matter of fact, they are trying to deny the national liberation and anti-fascist struggle of our people. Most frequently they do this for ideological reasons or out of dissatisfaction because our nation has clearly determined its Macedonian identity; because the Republic of Macedonia, now internationally recognized, represents an obstacle to the revival of historical designs on Macedonia, or because of the inevitable repercussions of its affirmation in the Balkans, in connection with some decisions of Comintern, Stalin, and so on, that called it an artificial creation. Ideological prefixes, as a sign of a certain period, are created when necessary, but then disappear. States formed remain as the basic goal of the events in the period in which they were created. There are a lot of such examples in history—the French and October Revolutions, the Spanish Civil War, and the collapse of the communist world.

Regardless of the prevailing ideologies at the time of World War II in Europe, and also in Macedonia, the conditions could not have been created for a people's insurrection, for the victory of an armed struggle, if the national and the centuries-long aspirations of the Macedonian people for national freedom and a state had not been the essence of the struggle and its result. Without that, not only would there have emerged no such unity of the people in their common struggle shoulder to shoulder with all the nationalities living in the country, but we would certainly have had a civil war and interethnic conflicts.

The deeply rooted desire for the unaccomplished national ideal of one's own state and the general feeling that it was an historic moment, which, despite all the insurrections, had not been seized before, could not have been disregarded no matter how high the price might be. That is the red thread that was being dragged along between 1941-1944, and with every new day of struggle, it produced new struggles and reinforced the unity of the people. That is the reason why the ideological requisites of that time will pass into history with all their ideals and dissensions, while only the good and the universal will remain. Our present and future development will coincide with the present knowledge and civilization achievements and changes. Fortunately, the decisions of ASNOM do not contradict the current needs and democratic determinations. On the contrary, they are fully up-to-date and they are within the frameworks of the liberty traditions of our people, who never conquered anybody, who never oppressed anybody, and who travelled along a very difficult historical road to attain their sovereign state.

The democratic spirit of the manifest of ASNOM and its other documents are of great importance. Today they have lost none of their democratic essence or currency. On that basis we have initiated the creation of the key national institutions—the Academy of Sciences, a university, institutes for the Macedonian language, history, and all the rest. They are the basis of our alphabet and language. In brief, they are the basis for all the signs that make a modern European nation.

Can a manifest, a decree, a constitution, or anybody's wish create the criteria and values unless they are founded on a centuries-long history, on the authentic characteristics of our nation, on its cultural wealth, and on everything that represents its spirit?.

Had it not been so, would it be possible, after half a century since ASNOM, to create a language, poetry, literature, art, and science equal to those in Europe and the world? Is it possible to believe that, in this tumultuous time in the Balkans, when general transformations and uncertainties are taking place, a people and its state can demonstrate such an understanding of events and choose peace and civilization for its survival and affirmation, if it did not have all these mentioned values? The greatest example of this is when it showed how much it cared about keeping the state, its identity, and its dignity, refusing to become a victim of Balkan quarrels, ambitions, and appetites. Time has proven that it was right. ASNOM's Macedonia has passed the test and the temptations, contrary to some other countries in this turbulent region and this dreadful period of ethnic cleansing. Our people have remained immune to ideas of the 19th century that have been revived in the former Yugoslav regions, which differentiates us from others. It has proven to be a stable and a mature nation with a long memory and great experience.

That is why all those who deny any part of our identity—language, nation, or state—are either carried away with historical dogmas and myths, or are engaged in past ideals for a greater state. However, we have seen how far the people living in the north [in Serbia] have gone. Their only remedy is to face reality, that is to accept our existence, our identity, and our statehood. They cannot but accept all this, sooner or later, if they want to create a basis for peace and cooperation in this region of the Balkans, one leading to common prosperity. That is the goal of our people and we are prepared to offer our hand to everybody who has good will and respect.

I think that this is how we can pay back to ASNOM and to the wishes of our people for safeguarding the state and finding its own place among the European nations. Let us open up new possibilities for all, in peace and cooperation, for greater cultural achievements and for a successful economic development, by respecting and

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supporting personal initiatives and economic and cultural competition. I firmly believe that the basic message of our nation is that it wants to maintain its own state, that it wants to establish and construct a democratic state by respecting everybody's personal and national feelings and by respecting generally recognized human rights with the aim of promoting our nation's identity.

The period after the first session of ASNOM was full of misunderstandings and limitations, and we must be aware of that. Of course, on this occasion I can only touch upon these matters. However, our experience and the experience of the whole former socialist world tell us that they were more or less present in all these societies.

In the first place, there was an absence of pluralist democratic life based on respect for human rights and the market economy. All other manifestations derive from those basic, I would say organic, weaknesses, based on disrespect for man's nature and his inalienable rights and interests, an attempt to build a society and an econom on the basis of some idealized premises; I would here say a society and its economy under imagined values, the first being the collective spirit. All this was done without respect for continuity, general values, and experiences affirmed over long decades of the development of mankind. That is, it was deprived of that evolutionary approach that does not object to development and revival, but at the same should not destroy what already exists and the interests of the people. As a matter of fact, it was an Achilles' heel approach to the world. It also became evident whenever economic development and the position of each individual was dealt with. There can be no state or group that can replace personal initiative, one's personal and family interests. That is how we can lose the enormous energy contained in the hands and the brain of each individual, whenever it is beyond his own interests. Everyone who is personally motivated is also motivated to work in the interest of the state, and the state will protect him and urge him because he will be its cornerstone, using his own labor, brain, and power.

In pointing out the failures of the socialist society and economic order we must not forget the achievements that are of value today, too. In the past 50 years of this century we have experienced true revivals in education, science, culture, health, and even in the economy, although today we are at a much higher level in these spheres. That does not mean that in education, health, or science, for instance, there will not be any serious changes, more rational solutions, or higher criteria for evaluating results. Nevertheless, it is important that we avoid a nihilist attitude toward all the achievements of the past.

Such an attitude toward the past is of a principled and long-term importance. No generation can start life thinking history or the state has just begun and connect itself to only one part of the past. Nations and states are being perpetually built by numerous generations, with defeats, victories, achievements, misunderstandings, and wanderings. All this is important for the construction of an independent state and democracy. All those who fought for the identity of the Macedonian people and for their own state must be identified in the kaleidoscope of our past. If we glorify Ilinden 1903 as our epic and try to diminish the importance of ASNOM, which was the turning point that enabled us to have a state, or vice versa, just if we desecrate the monuments of our heroes—it will mean that some people will not know our history, that they will not have an equal respect for all the victims, or they may, consciously or unconsciously, violate the continuity of our existence and our permanent struggle for our own state. Such a faulty retrospective of our past and a provisional selection of the events and a subjective ranking of them can lead not only to wrong retrospectives, but also to wrong perspectives and to various retrogressive movements.

What are the messages of ASNOM?

In the first place, and this seems to be of decisive importance for the success of the National Liberation War and ASNOM, we relied on our own forces and we succeeded in resisting the propaganda from our neighboring countries. By doing so, and thanks to our experience in history, we managed not to get involved in their strategies and centuries-long goals. The influence of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the attempts of the Bulgarian Communist Party to interfere in our internal affairs caused nothing but transient damage and occasional hesitations, and although it was tragic for a small number of people, it could not imperil the anti-fascist front. It is even more important that they did not endanger the Macedonian identity in the struggle and our basic goal—the creation of our own state.

Thanks to such an orientation and to the successful struggle, our people escaped from the worst evil—civil war, which characterizes all the other former Yugoslav republics with which we fought shoulder to shoulder. Bearing in mind the divisions of the past, our surroundings, and the presence of occupying armies, only the unity of our people around the basic goals—freedom and state—and a correct assessment of the historical moment, proved to be the successful barrier against decisions that could have led to inevitable defeat.

Following the traditions of Ilinden 1903 and the Krusevo Republic, our determination to remain united in the struggle was one of the most important factors in the victory and the interethnic cooperation that formed the foundations of our coexistence.

In every struggle it is very important to find the right allies, particularly if the conflict is of a gigantic nature and if it can determine the future of international order and the rights of peoples and nations. We did not hesitate to choose the allied democracies because we were aware that it was a double battle—against fascism, which represents darkness and violence as a general evil,

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dangerous for peaceloving peoples and their self-determination, but also for a new international order of equal nations and states.

From the beginning of the National Liberation War we were absolutely sure of victory and we knew that the people would understand and accept it if it started from the continuity of our centuries-long struggle and traditions, inspired by our own past, our ancestors, and the true fighters for our people's identity and for the right to have our own state. We connected both national aspirations and the ordinary man's struggle against the invaders. Therefore, the Ilinden epic, our glorious ancestors like Goce Delcev and his comrades-in-arms, and the great personalities of the Krusevo Republic served as an inspiration to all the fighters and to all the people.

We knew that we continued from the point at which we were stopped by great hostile forces, deprived of true allies and any assistance. However, that helped our confidence that we had chosen the right road and this self-confidence grew.

During the war and ASNOM there emerged an awareness that Macedonia should drag itself away from the limitations of the Balkans, because of some countries' historical burdens, ambitions, and aspirations. However, it turned out to be a long historical process, and now that we share the idea of a common European home, now that we are oriented toward finding our own place in that home, we have opened perspectives for liberating ourselves from the chains of the present Balkan constellation and the ambitions of certain countries. Although each one of them is a small country, they are all persistent in trying to rule over the others, to dominate, and to increase the number of their own people by assimilating others.

In mentioning vaguely just a few examples of ASNOM's experiences and decisions, we can easily see why, after the collapse of Yugoslavia, our people opted for peace, for a peaceful and legitimate proclamation of independence and sovereignty, seeing their historic chance to complete the work of ASNOM. Why did they opt for this, why did they follow the traditions of the two Ilindens for coexistence, for a European orientation, for democracy, for openness toward the world and our neighbors, for a real market economy, for European criteria in our policy and for achievements in all areas, for friendship with all countries, and first of all with our neighbors, to whom we are frankly offering the hand of friendship? Why is it difficult to follow the example of Germany and France, or Germany and Great Britain, which had difficult conflicts and countless casualties throughout history, and yet today they cooperate and form the nucleus of European culture? Macedonia will commit its modest means for the same goal in the Balkans.

To conclude: We want to remain on our own territories; we want to have friendly states around us and find our place in Europe and the world.

Finally, I would also like to say the following: While celebrating ASNOM's anniversary, let us remember and pay tribute to known and unknown fighters, to our Ilinden fighters in glorious 1903, and to the fighters in the National Liberation War. Let us remember all those who gave their lives, who suffered, and who contributed to the construction of the state of Macedonia, all those who defended the national identity and integrity of the Macedonian nation. They are all built into the foundations of the Republic of Macedonia.

Let me congratulate the Macedonian nation and nationalities, to all Macedonians in the world, and to all of you present here today on the Ilinden festival and the 50th anniversary of ASNOM.

Turkish National Assembly Speaker on Joint Ties

LD0708145394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1246 GMT 7 Aug 94

[Text] Skopje, 7 Aug (TANJUG)—The Speaker of the Turkish National Assembly, Husamettin Cindoruk, today ended his three-day official visit to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] and left for Tirana.

He sees his visit to Skopje as a Macedonian-Turkish contribution to peace and cooperation in former Yugoslavia and in the Balkans.

Speaker of the Macedonian Assembly, Stojan Andov, said that the intensification of cooperation between Macedonia and Turkey is not directed against anyone—the two states are only "trying to prove that international relations between neighboring states should be based on mutual trust and friendship."

Turkey's state and national policy vis-vis Macedonia, Cindoruk said, is based on "respect for its territorial integrity and the inalienability of its borders, as well as on Macedonia's natural right to chose its own name and flag, which has a historical background."

Ankara believes it is important to ensure all prererquisites for the free-flow of people and goods between the two countries and to open all Asia Minor's ports for the needs of Macedonia.

The "East-West" project for linking Ankara and Skopje, as well as Sofia and Tirana, via one single corridor by road, railway, air, and telecommunications, Cindforuk sees as a "corridor of peace." He announced that the Turkish Assembly would urge its construction.

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Federal

Decision To Close Border Fully Observed

LD0808133094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1216 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—According to reports from competent state bodies, the 4 August decision of the Federal Government to close the FRY's border with the Serb republic [in Bosnia] continues to be fully observed, the Federal Ministry of Information announced today.

Freight transportation has all but stopped. Over the last 24 hours only 21 vehicles carrying food and medicines were allowed to cross into the Serb republic. The shipment was organized and collected by the Yugoslav Red Cross in Belgrade under the supervision of relevant federal and republican bodies.

Kontic Urges Bosnian Serbs To Weigh Peace

LD0908001394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2338 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Podgorice, August 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Premier Radoje Kontic said late on Monday that the Yugoslav Government decision to sever relations with Bosnian Serbs was a warning to them that their policy could lead to even more disastrous results.

Speaking at a Montenegrin parliament session, Kontic said that the Federal Government decision was legitimate. It was not a result of momentary inspiration, but a logical continuation of Yugoslavia's policy of peace, he said.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Thursday severed economic and political relations with the Bosnian Serb republic after its national assembly failed to accept the contact group peace plan and called a referendum on this issue for August 27 and 28.

In a debate on the latest developments, Kontic said that the Federal Government had objectively been forced to adopt such a decision because it was the only rational solution for a peaceful settlement.

'In a choice of peace or war, we opted for peace, having in mind some of the significant details of the peace plan—the territorial division of 49 percent to 51 percent, with possible map corrections in bilateral talks,' he said.

'Also, there were the guarantees of the international community for the state borders thus determined,' Kontic said.

The federal premier urged Bosnian Serbs 'soberly to review all the advantages and possibilities of the peace plan once more, to take into consideration the reality of the present moment and bravely to accept the contact group plan.'

'The plan enables the realization of the global interests for which the Serb people in Bosnia-Herzegovina have fought,' Kontic told the Montenegrin parliament.

Perisic, UN Commander Solve 'Delicate Problems'

LD0808150094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav Army, and his aides today received French General Bertrand de Lapresle, commander of UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in the former Yugoslavia, at the latter's request, the information service of the Yugoslav Army's general staff announced today.

"Issues of importance for relations between UNPROFOR and the Yugoslav Army were aired during the frank talks, and it was stressed that some delicate problems were solved, thanks to the two sides' constructive approach. This refers particularly to the area bordering on the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, where an incident-prone situation has been considerably defused through mutual efforts by UNPROFOR and the Yugoslav Army.

Generals Perisic and de Lapresle agreed that the Yugoslav Army has made a considerable contribution to the efforts to find a peaceful solution to the crisis in the territory of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," a statement says.

FRY's Financial Aid to Krajinas Viewed

AU0908105394 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 94 p 5

[Article by D. Dimitrovska, A. Vasic: "Every Other Dinar Crosses the Drina"]

[Text] The aid that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] has so far extended to the Serbian republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina is estimated at around $4.73 billion dollars. Moreover, according to a survey of the Federal Ministry for Science, Technology, and Development and the Center for Development and Economic Policy, it is estimated that this year, this so-called non- economic expenditure will claim $400 million, or 640 million dinars at the most.

The Ministry has obtained this information on the basis of data concerning the decrease in the social product from $26 billion to $10 billion up until today. These calculations show that in 1991, the FRY spent $789 million helping the Serbian republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina. The subsequent year, this sum was $2.73 billion, while $1.20 billion were spent last year.

Official calculations show that this year, at least 600 million dinars will be invested in various types of aid and commodity trade with the Serbian republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina. However, we were unable to

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find out how much of this sum has already been transferred "across the Drina River," but those well versed in this area say that essentially every other dinar earned in the FRY ends up in the Serbian Krajinas (the FRY's gross cash stockpile is 1.5 billion dinars).

We were told by the federal government that according to plans this year, 14,950,000 dinars of the federal budget will go into the republic of Serbian Krajina's coffers. However, we were also told that, according to current regulations, no such subsidies have been planned for the Serbian republic.

According to the Federal Government's data, 1.5 million dinars of the federal budget have been earmarked for the Serbian republic. This aid, however, was paid into Yugoslav Red Cross accounts, which purchased medicine and dressings for citizens and refugees in the Serbian republic.

"We use the aid that we receive from the Federal Government," says Biljana Teodorovic, head of the Bureau for Humanitarian Aid of the Yugoslav Red Cross, "to buy medicine, dressings, and medical equipment, which we then dispatch to the Serbian republic through our organization. We distribute the aid directly to the communal Red Cross organizations throughout the Serbian republic."

Moreover, the federal government has also allotted additional aid for the wounded and seriously ill in the Serbian republic. The Yugoslav Red Cross cannot assess for certain the amount of this aid, but it stresses that it is not insignificant.

The Ministry of Finance in the Serbian republic stressed that they have not received a single dinar from the FRY.

The Serbian republic's ministry for labor, health, and social policy maintains the same, as does the Commissioner for Refugees in the Serbian republic which claims that everything was probably sent to the Red Cross. However, the Serbian republic Red Cross stresses that they cannot assess the aid sent from the FRY because it came in the form of food, medicine, and dressings. In any case, they add that the aid from their brothers "across the Drina River" certainly is not small and that they would be unable to survive without it.

Serbia

Rally Held in Loznica in Support of Bosnian Serbs

LD0808125594 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1150 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Over 9,000 people attended a meeting in Loznica yesterday in support of Serbs in the [Bosnian] Serb republic and in the republic of Serb Krajina. The meeting, organized by the Serb National Renewal, the People's Party, and the Democratic Party of Serbia, was held under the slogan: To the Final Victory through a Just Struggle.

Say no to the peace, the price of which is speculation with the Serbs, Mirko Jovic, president of the Serb National Renewal, told the meeting. The message from Zoran Milunovic, vice president of the People's Party, to the Serbian people in the Serb republic was: Do not succumb to pressures, even if they are coming from Belgrade.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Criticizes Bosnian Serb Leadership

LD0808181794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Podgorica, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—Speaking about the situation created as a result of the [Bosnian] Serb republic's rejection of the peace plan, Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic told the republic's assembly deputies that "the state and political leaderships of Montenegro, Serbia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] are unanimous in their evaluation of the Contact Group's plan and adamant in their resolve to implement the measures requested by it."

Bulatovic also said that these leaderships "are firmly opposed to the policies of the Serb republic's leadership, which, in our view, are not in the interests of peace and the well-being of the people in the Serb Republic and the FRY."

According to him, "the proposed plan is not ideal, but provides acceptable conditions for ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and lifting the sanctions against the FRY."

Bulatovic also said that "the peace plan is the best solution for the Serb nation and the Serb republic in the present set of circumstances and in view of the existing balance of forces."

This evening's emergency session of the Montenegrin assembly is being held at the proposal of Momir Bulatovic. The deputies are expected to declare themselves on the Bosnian Serbs' rejection of the peace plan and the announced tightening of the sanctions against the FRY. [passage omitted]

Parliament Rejects Bosnian Serbs' Position

LD0908081094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0134 GMT 9 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Podgorica, 9 Aug (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Assembly does not approve of the latest policy pursued by the leadership of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, and it supports the stances and measures taken by the state leadership of Montenegro, Serbia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the peace plan.

This is the main conclusion of the assembly's committee for the political system, which was approved this morning basically only by the deputies of the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists. Thus they expressed

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their support for the opinions and stances Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic voiced during last night's session of the Montenegrin parliament on the situation following the Serb Republic leadership's rejection of the peace plan.

The opposition did not vote on the conclusion because, except for two or three deputies of the Serb Radical Party, it did not take part in the discussion. Opposition deputies walked out of the session because it was carried only on the second television channel. [passage omitted]

Reading out the conclusion, deputy Miodrag Vukovic stressed that "the Montenegrin Assembly does not consider the proposed peace plan to be the best solution, but it is the best means of ending the war." The Assembly also supports the consistent implementation of the FRY'S measures against the Serb Republic, and it does not expect the international community either to impose further sanctions or to tighten the existing sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

It was announced that the Assembly supports the Montenegrin Government's efforts to have the sanctions lifted, especially the embargo on air and sea transport, which is badly affecting the Montenegrin economy.

Since the discussion on the Contact Group's peace plan—that is, on the response to it by the Serb Republic leadership—lasted several hours and was very heated, the conclusions of the Montenegrin Assembly were expected to be more detailed and politically subtler. All the more so since—for different reasons and motives—almost the whole of the opposition was in one way or another opposed to the opinions and stances put forward by Momir Bulatovic in his introductory speech at the beginning of the session.

Kosovo

Albanians Jailed for Separatist Activities

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[Text] Pristina, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—The Pristina district court council today sentenced a seven-member group of Albanians accused of the criminal act of threatening the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to prison terms of between two and four years.

Fehmi Ljestrani and Nedzmedin Sadriu each received a four-year prison sentence. Skeljzen Bajrami, Ljuan Heti, and Becir Muljeci were each sentenced to three years in prison. Isni France and Bajram Galapeni were sent to prison for two years each.

As established during the public hearing, in 1992 the group spent some time in the Ljabinat Fusi camp near the Albanian town of Elbasan, where they were trained in military and intelligence-gathering skills. They entered Albania illegally and at the orders of so-called representatives of the "government of the republic of Kosovo" in Tirana. They were trained by officers of the Albanian Army.

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